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*Eurasian Resettlement in
Indonesia*
By CHARLES FISHER

Asia for the Asians
By MARC T. GREENE

*Learning About the
Commonwealth*
By SIR HARRY LINDSAY

*The Yeniseians of
Middle Siberia*
By HANS FINDEISEN

*Insurance in the
Far East*
By L. DELGADO

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CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

Westminster and the East	<i>Harold Davies, M.P.</i>	5
Australia's Own Empire	<i>Hume Dow</i>	7
Eurasian Resettlement in Indonesia	<i>Charles Fisher</i>	9
Asia for the Asians	<i>Marc T. Greene</i>	12
EAST-WEST PERSONALITIES		14
Learning About the Commonwealth	<i>Sir Harry Lindsay</i>	16
The Lure of the Himalayas	<i>Alfred J. Edwin</i>	17
Gandhi: Mahatma or Politician ?	<i>B. Krishna</i>	18
FROM ALL QUARTERS		20
BOOKS ON THE FAR EAST		22
REVIEW OF REVIEWS		26
The Yeniseians of Middle Siberia	<i>Hans Findeisen</i>	27
The Teacher	<i>Herbert Chambers</i>	30
ECONOMIC SECTION		
Insurance in the Far East (I)	<i>L. Delgado</i>	32
ECONOMIC PUBLICATIONS		33
Japanese Textile Exports	<i>Peter Hibberd</i>	36
Japanese Fishing Industry	<i>James E. Carver</i>	38
ECONOMIC NOTES		39
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR		39
Planning for Survival	<i>T. G. James</i>	40

COVER PICTURE SHOWS :
Tibetian Actress

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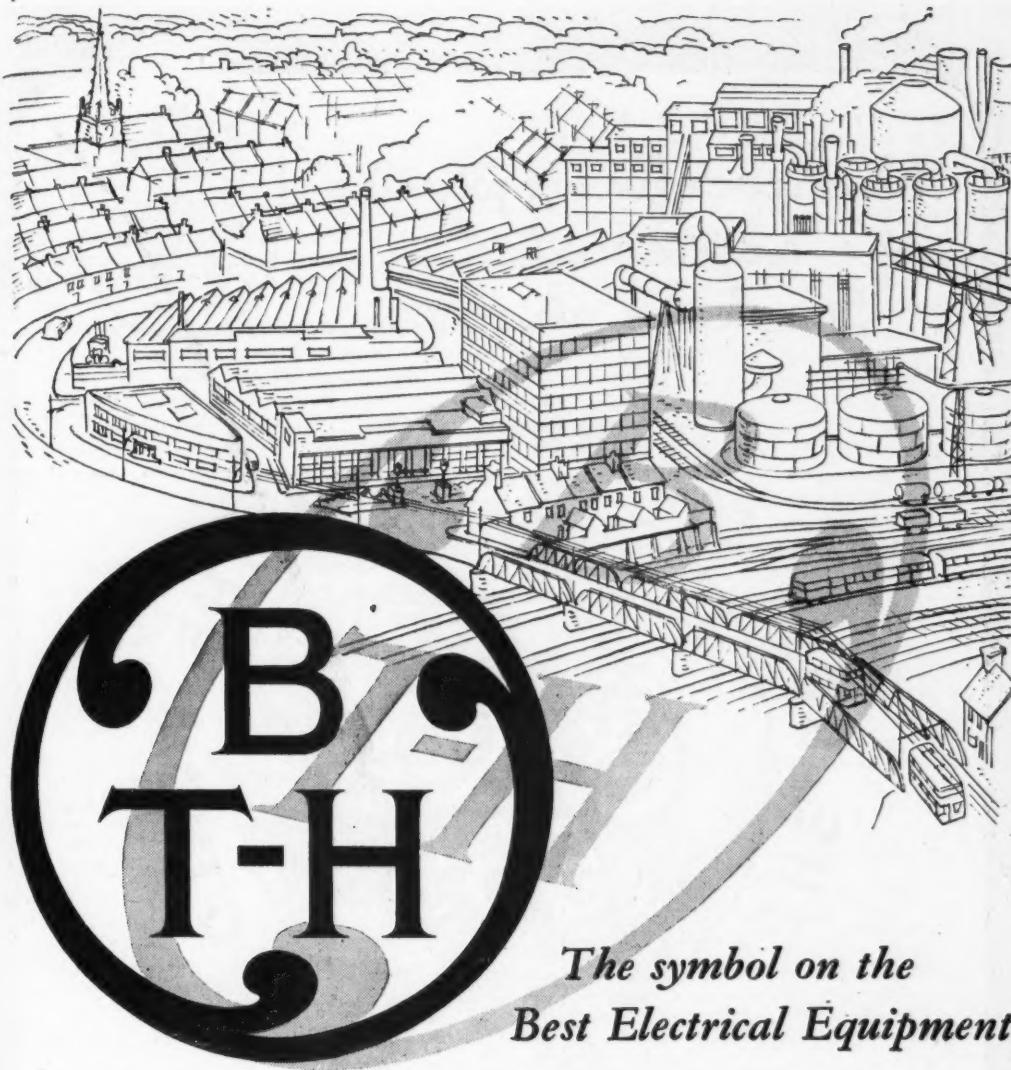
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Discrimination Against Hong Kong

The Times of October 3rd reported that the ban on United States economic aid for countries sending strategic materials to the Soviet bloc is not to include Japan. This decision was reached by the National Security Council which said that Japan's trade with China was necessary, and that the permanent loss of the Chinese market would be "seriously detrimental to Japan." On the same day the *Financial Times*, quoting an extract from its edition of sixty years ago, said this: "The American market at present is an interesting study in eccentricity. It no longer knows its own mind, and is not two days together in the same mood." Reading these two paragraphs, the only charitable comment one can make is that the Americans today still do not know their own minds.

Last December, in a great outburst of indignation, the American authorities decided to impose a total ban on exports to Hong Kong. With characteristic vigour the Americans went so far as to compel vessels in American ports to offload those portions of their cargoes destined for the British Colony. At the same time the American Press had much to say about war materials supposed to be passing through Hong Kong, which might be brought into ultimate use against the American forces operating in Korea. Earlier this year General MacArthur came into the picture with a declaration that quantities of war material had been exported to China, including petroleum, despite the Hong Kong Government export regulations imposed immediately on the outbreak of the Korean war. That he was proved wrong exercised no influence on American editorial opinion which continued to exhibit Hong Kong to the American public as the gateway to China and Korea, through which materials of war and strategic importance could still pass to the detriment of the American forces in Korea.

Recently the United Nations recommended a general embargo on exports to the Far East, including Hong Kong, and the Hong Kong Government broadened and strengthened its export controls, since it entered fully into the spirit of the resolution which said that strategic materials should not be allowed to pass into China at this

stage in Far Eastern affairs. Hong Kong exports to China, which were valued at £16 million in March of this year, fell to £9 million in June and to £5 million in July. Since this last available figure they are expected to have been reduced still further. With the evidence of these remarkable falls in Hong Kong's trade turnover before them, even some American voices reluctantly admitted that the Hong Kong gateway was now only slightly ajar. They could not, of course, bring themselves to believe that it was closed.

Japanese exports to China, on the other hand, increased steadily from a monthly average of 262,000 U.S. dollars in 1949 to 854,000 dollars for the first quarter of 1951. For the period January-April 1951, these exports reached a total of 3,477,884 U.S. dollars. This included 305,000 dollars for food; 220,000 dollars for raw materials; 722,000 dollars for manufactured goods; 25,000 dollars for miscellaneous items and 2,206,000 U.S. dollars for machinery and transport equipment.

Apparently complex international foreign policies can at times be reduced to startling but accurate simplifications. In the light of *The Times* report, quoted in our opening paragraph, can it be assumed that the support for Japanese trade with China, including the routeing of strategic supplies through Japan is such a simplification? In other words Japan, now regarded as freed from the domination of American controlled SCAP, has far more American business houses than can be found in Hong Kong. It is to be hoped that this will prove to be an oversimplification; should it be justified, then hypocrisy becomes too weak a term.

Hong Kong was popularly supposed to be, in the eyes of the American public at least, the Fifth Column with which the American soldier had to contend, and Hong Kong's traditional trade pattern with China must be obliterated on his behalf. Can it be assumed that that same soldier will now go into battle in Korea, ready to meet Chinese and Korean forces supplied from Japan with possibly American strategic materials, feeling that his country's policy in Japan is something for which he may well fight?

Raw Materials and Capital Goods

Two of the most vital problems discussed at the Commonwealth Conference, which was held in London last month, were the expansion of the production of raw materials and the question of price fluctuations. The exchange of views on these topics, it is hoped, may lead to important changes in the pattern of Commonwealth trade. The Conference investigated all possible methods of freeing the Commonwealth from its present dependence on dollars, and consequently on the United States, particularly for its requirements of such essential raw materials as tungsten, sulphur and molybdenum. In this connection, it was announced that India's contribution to the proposed scheme would consist of an increased production of iron

ore, pig iron and steel. Pakistan would increase her output of sulphur, manganese and cotton (the latter depending on a good supply of fertilisers), Malaya will aim at a higher production of tin and rubber, Australia of copper, lead, zinc and aluminium, while New Zealand plans to increase her production of pulp, newsprint and timber.

It was recognised that without the provision of capital and other essential goods for those countries which urgently need them, there could be no early increase in the output of raw materials, but the Conference did disclose, on the part of some of the Commonwealth members, a certain lack of appreciation of Britain's obligations under unilateral agreements with other countries, which often

force her, in order to obtain essential raw materials for her own defence programme—to deny some of her manufactured products to Commonwealth countries. However, agreements were made for the fuller exchange of information and for the speeding-up of U.K. exports to Commonwealth countries. It is to be hoped that the Government and British industry will give priority to these exports

which, in addition to purely economic considerations, are of the greatest importance in contributing to the raising of living standards in under-developed countries, even beyond the boundaries of the Commonwealth itself. The direction of Britain's exports should be, therefore, decided not only by immediate expediency but by a long-term economic policy, taking into account its political implications.

WESTMINSTER AND THE EAST

By HAROLD DAVIES, M.P.

JUST a year ago Parliament was recalled during Recess to approve the original expenditure of £3,600 million for Defence. On September 12, 1950, we were told that this programme was the maximum that we could do without disrupting our economy. Since then, mainly through events in Asia, the Government has stepped up its programme to £4,700 million. At the Trades Union Congress, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, "Our economic situation is at present largely determined by international politics, especially by the consequences of Korea, our own rearmament and world rearmament."

The last time the T.U.C. met at Blackpool was in September, 1945. Japanese Kodoism had been crushed, Hitler was dead and Russia had given seven million lives on the battlefields of Europe to defeat the upsurge of Nazism. The Labour Government had a large majority and it was hoped in Westminster that the years of cynicism and disillusion between the wars were over. Even Churchill paid tribute on August 16, 1945, to our gallant ally, Stalin, who had honoured his pledge on the very day, as promised, three months after the defeat of the Nazis, to come in against Japan. But now, six years later, one could almost hear the murmur of the traffic outside the great hall as delegates listened to Mr. Hugh Gaitskell ruthlessly eviscerate the hopes of higher standards of living under rearmament. True, the Chancellor stroked and patted the T.U.C. on the head, but he still stood on its tail. It is a great tribute to the toughness of the Trades Unions that they did not squeal more.

Back in Westminster, the Lobbies echo to the sounds of a few who have to be at the Ministries. In 1948, 1949 and 1950 we were recalled in September, and once again it looks as though the Government might recall Parliament early because of the imminence of a General Election. Nevertheless, while lunching at the House, I found speculation rife about the Korean Peace talks and the consequences of the San Francisco meeting to sign the Japanese Peace Treaty. India's refusal to go to San Francisco was interpreted by a member as her indication that she would not be involved in a hot war against Mao Tse-tung. India will end the state of war with Japan when a majority of the nations ratify the Treaty. She will do this, it seems, in order to have her commercial and economic relations clarified on a free and friendly basis.

In constituencies, Conservative and Labour agents are preparing for a General Election. But, whatever the fate of the parties may be, few major changes could be made in Far Eastern policy. A Tory Chancellor could be no more forthright nor more honest than Gaitskell

was at the T.U.C. if he accepts the hypothesis of the need for the present scale of rearmament. No party can work miracles, but the danger is that for the fruits of power nonsensical promises will be made to an electorate who are by no means aware of the magnitude of events in Asia and the Far East. The dollar problem and the inflationary situation is bound to worsen as long as the Korean War lasts.

That brings me to the tragedy of the progress of the Armistice talks in Korea. It is more than three months since Mr. Jacob Malik proposed armistice talks in Korea. The protracted peace talks have strengthened some sections of American public opinion in the belief that the talks are a trick. America is strong on action, but weak in diplomacy. Many of us here in the House of Commons feel that no effort must be spared to try and get a sane peace in Korea. The United Nations owes this to the illiterate and hungry masses of Asia. General Ridgway has created another chance to end the stalemate by apologising for the attack on Kaesong neutral zone by a U.N. plane.

The Tenth Report from the Select Committee on Estimates published during the recess is a factual report on the preliminary stages of the rearmament programme. The problems of shortages in manpower, machine tools and raw materials is highlighted. The picture is a cheerless one if we relate it to the Colombo Plan. How many man-hours of labour will we be able to divert from the arms effort to uplift South-East Asia's standards? The skilled and technical manpower shortage has grown more serious in recent months. "Some 1,750 scientific workers are urgently needed over the next two or three years and the recruitment of them is very difficult," says the Report.

The Report estimates machine-tool defence requirements at 35,000 machines. Firm demands have already been received for 31,000 and it is anticipated that these requirements will be obtained thus: From U.S.A. 8,000 to 9,000 machines; from Europe 11,000 machines; from the United Kingdom 15,000 to 16,000 machines. This will mean that machine tools will be diverted from export. South-East Asia fears both war and famine. The more Europe pours her wealth into a huge arms machine, the less chance will there be of winning the race between the production of babies and the production of goods in Asia. One quarter of the world lives in the area envisaged in the Colombo Plan.

We are watching a setting sun in Asia, and there is creeping slowly towards us the light of a new day. But the question is—whose day?

AUSTRALIA'S OWN EMPIRE

By HUME Dow

AUSTRALIA as a united nation is only 50 years old this year, but, despite her youth, she has a considerable empire of her own. The Federal Cabinet which recently took office includes a new portfolio, Minister for Territories. This position combines administration of the Northern Territory, the north-central sixth of the continent itself, and control of the nation's overseas dependencies.

Although the fact that Australia has colonial territories of her own is often overlooked, this empire now extends from the South Pole almost to the Equator. It includes: half of New Guinea, that extraordinarily mountainous island linking Australia with the East Indies; numerous small islands nearby—the Bismarck Archipelago, the Admiralties, and Bougainville and Buka in the Solomons; Nauru in the central Pacific and Norfolk Island in south; the Cocos Islands in the Indian Ocean; Heard and Macquarie Islands in the Southern Ocean; and no less than 2,472,000 square miles of the continent of Antarctica.

With this array of territories at her command, Australia, celebrating the jubilee of her federal constitution, can indeed claim to have become a power in her own right. But, for reasons both of security and of commerce, her interest in islands lying near her shores goes back to her earliest colonial days. Even the commission authorising Captain Arthur Phillip to set up the original colony in 1788 gave him authority over "the islands adjacent to the eastern coast of New Holland," and Norfolk Island, 930 miles from Sydney and still a colony to-day, played an important part in the establishment of New South Wales.

Australia's preoccupation with her own security has been instrumental in the accumulation of her varied dependencies. This preoccupation, though vindicated by the course of Japan's southward drive in 1942, seemed far-fetched in the 19th century and during much of the 20th. In the 1870's and 1880's Australians kept up a constant but unavailing pressure on the Government in London to annex the islands north and east of the continent, presumably to prevent other powers from doing so. Britain did annex Fiji in 1875 and Papua (south-east

New Guinea) in 1884, but really paid little attention to Australian forebodings until Germany occupied north-eastern New Guinea in 1885.

By 1914, the Crown Colony of Papua had been transferred to Australia (1906), and when war broke out the young dominion made its first independent move in the interests of its own security by occupying the adjacent German territories. All German New Guinea, including the Bismarck Archipelago and Bougainville and Buka in



Radio Session in New Guinea

[By courtesy of Australia House

the Solomons, was awarded to Australia at Versailles under a "C-class" mandate (almost absolute control), and, except for the brief Japanese incursion in 1942 and 1943, has remained under Australia's control ever since.

The Versailles conference also assigned Nauru, important for its rich store of phosphate deposits, to "His Britannic Majesty" to solve the conflict between the King's various dominions. A joint government corporation (Britain and Australia, 42% each; New Zealand, 16%) now controls the island's wealth, but the administration has been handled by Australia alone since 1919—again, except for a brief Japanese interregnum.

Meanwhile, Australia has not forgotten that her only neighbour to the south is the massive and forbidding continent of Antarctica. Human beings cannot live

there, of course, without the most elaborate artificial aids, but who knows what ways of exploiting its vast resources may not be found by science in the next century or two? If not to-day, then some day, it is sure to become a prize. To take one example of its latent wealth, Sir Edgeworth David, the distinguished Australian geologist, once pointed out that it includes the largest virgin coalfield in the world, a field some 1,000 miles by 50-odd miles in area.

Who is to own this ice-covered storehouse of natural wealth? On accepted diplomatic standards, Australia's claim, to a part at least, is excellent. Apart from proximity (Hobart is nearer to Antarctica than to Perth),



Young Papuan Couple
[By courtesy of Australia House]

Australian explorers have done as much as any group to open up the frozen continent. As Sir Douglas Mawson, leader of two Australian expeditions, has said: "It is not a case of usurping land held by others, not disinherit others by conquest, but of unoccupied land which we have discovered, charted, explored and scientifically investigated." So, in 1933, the Australian Parliament passed the somewhat naively-named "Antarctic Territory Acceptance Act." Under this law, finally proclaimed in 1936, Australia assumed control of all lands south of

60° S.lat. and between 160° and 45° E.long., except for the thin strip of French territory known as Adelie Land.

In addition to this well-founded continental claim, Australia also regards herself as the occupant of two island groups in the Southern Ocean—Heard Island and Macquarie Island. She has established her claim well, too, for since 1947 she has been operating valuable meteorological stations on these bitterly cold outposts.

This, then, is almost the full extent of Australia's overseas territories. The second World War brought no additions: the dominion was too busy clearing Japanese troops out of her own New Guinea area to follow America's example of occupying Japanese Pacific islands. There has, however, been one addition since: in June of this year the British Government announced that the administration of the Cocos (or Keeling) Islands had been transferred from the Singapore Government to Australian control. On that occasion, *The Times* suggested that the assumption of responsibility for imperial defence in the Indian Ocean by Australia and New Zealand made the transfer appropriate; but perhaps the Australian plan for an air route direct to Africa was a more immediate cause.

It is difficult to adjust one's mind to consider, at one and the same time, problems connected with tropic plantations and Antarctic weather stations. The Australian Government itself finds such reconciliation difficult, and has, at least for the time being, decided not to burden the new Minister for Territories with control of both the hot and the cold areas. So, while demonstrating, by the creation of the new portfolio, the vastly increased importance which it attaches to Australia's Pacific responsibilities, the Government has limited the new Minister's realm to the territories in and north of Australia.

Mr. Paul Hasluck, the first to be appointed to the new portfolio, will undoubtedly have his hands full in coping with the problems of the aborigines on the mainland and the many issues raised by Australia's presence in the islands. He is well qualified for the difficult post. Mr. Hasluck has not only been a sympathetic exponent of the aborigines' cause, but also has a brilliant record, as an Australian delegate to the United Nations, in dealing with the problems of foreign policy which his other responsibilities will inevitably involve.

Since 1945, Australia has in fact begun to develop a foreign policy of her own—if somewhat erratically—in a way that was never true in the years between wars. As Sir Douglas Copland, Vice-Chancellor of her National University, said recently in a B.B.C. talk: "Australia is young and is still feeling her way to a settled long-term policy. . . . It is not surprising that some contradictions should emerge in the early formation of a foreign policy by a young country faced with new responsibilities."

Whatever the precise lines of her foreign policy become, it is certain that Australia's determination to accept a leading role in the South-West Pacific area will be the fulcrum, and this will involve close liaison between Mr. Hasluck and the External Affairs Minister, Mr. R. G. Casey.

Emphasis on the importance of Pacific affairs to

Australia was already being underlined in 1939, when Mr. R. G. Menzies, then serving an earlier term as Prime Minister, made a clear statement of Australia's special interest—as distinct from Britain's—in the Pacific area.

Australia's part in the Pacific war, both as a fighting force and as an arsenal, was in many ways independent of a Britain preoccupied with the fronts against Germany, and her close co-operation with the American forces carried the development of her policy a step further. The "Anzac Pact" of 1944 between Australia and New Zealand even asserted the right of the two dominions to assume *primary* responsibility for the defence of "the arc of islands north and north-east of Australia to western Samoa and the Cook Islands."

When the United Nations Organisation was formed at San Francisco in 1945, Dr. H. V. Evatt, then External Affairs Minister (he is now Leader of the Opposition), emerged unmistakably as the spokesman of a mature and independent foreign policy, and in fact assumed the leadership of the "small" and "middle" powers, vis-à-vis the "Big Five."

At that time, Evatt expounded the principle of trusteeship in relation to undeveloped territories with a clarity which had been rare in pre-war days. The Papua-New Guinea Provisional Administration Act, introduced later that year, indicated that the Australian Government would attempt to practise what Evatt preached. The subsequent Papua and New Guinea Act, 1949, even provided for a Legislative Council, but the present Australian Government has decided to postpone this move pending further investigations.

Last year, Mr. P. C. Spender, then the responsible Minister, stated that "the welfare and advancement of the native peoples and their increasing participation in the natural wealth of the Territory" was one of the two primary objectives of Australian policy in New Guinea. The other was "the development of the resources of the

Territory to the point ultimately where the area would be economically self-supporting and supply the needs of Australia and the world generally with the valuable commodities that the Territory was capable of producing."

The present government has placed more emphasis on the investment of private capital in New Guinea and on the development of the area by private enterprise than did the previous Labour Government. The Territory's natural resources—gold, oil, rubber, copra, many industrially important minerals, and land capable of producing rice, tea, cocoa and jute—make it a rich field for commercial activity. The main limiting factors are insufficient population to provide the necessary labour, and the extreme difficulty of mechanisation in such a rugged terrain.

Despite such difficulties, the economic and commercial development of New Guinea, already considerable, is certain to continue at great speed. But, for Australia, this will be secondary to her persistent interest in the island as a major factor in her security. This emphasis has already led her into some misunderstandings with Indonesia and Holland over the future of Irian (Dutch, or western, New Guinea), partly the result of extremist suggestions that Australia herself should control the disputed area.

Australia's preoccupation with security is not restricted, of course, to the territories she controls. Her two major acts of foreign policy in the last two years—her sponsorship of the Colombo Plan, and her demand for a mutual assistance pact with the United States as the price of her agreement to the rearmament of Japan—are both best understood against this background. But, while this may be the Government's most pressing concern, the creation of the separate portfolio undoubtedly marks a recognition of the responsibilities Australia has to the peoples of her island empire.

EURASIAN RESETTLEMENT IN INDONESIA

By CHARLES FISHER

IT has long been claimed by the Dutch that no colour bar existed in their former dependencies in the East Indies and, indeed, that their whole colonial policy in this region aimed at effecting a synthesis between what was best in both the European and the Asian ways of life. The outstanding piece of evidence generally cited in support of these twin contentions was the responsible and respected position occupied by the Eurasian—or Indo-European—community in pre-war Netherlands Indian society. Legally, and in almost all other respects as well, Eurasians were treated exactly as Europeans, and it may come as a surprise to many to realize that, of the former 250,000 or so "Europeans" resident in Indonesia, about three-quarters were of mixed ethnic origin.

The altogether happier situation of Eurasians in Indonesia, compared with almost similar communities elsewhere, was the result of a deliberate change in Dutch

policy dating from the middle of the 19th century. When the Dutch took over the Indies from the Portuguese two centuries earlier they were at first inclined to despise the Eurasian community which remained as a legacy of the notoriously tolerant attitude of their predecessors to the question of miscegenation. Nevertheless many Dutch residents in the Indies, mostly servants of the East India Company and soldiers, did from the outset intermarry with the local population, both indigenous and mixed.

Thus with the passage of time the Eurasian community continued to grow and by the early 19th century it had become a significant element in East Indian society. With few exceptions its members adopted the surnames and adhered to the Christian faith of their Dutch ancestors. But, being for the most part poorly educated and employed in the lower grade clerical jobs, they rarely had more than a smattering of Dutch, and instead spoke a

debased form of Portuguese, which at that time served as the commercial lingua franca of the region. In short, neither socially nor culturally were they assimilated to the Dutch, but formed a typical middle group such as is found in plural societies in many parts of the world.

In 1848, however, an event occurred which was destined to lead to a substantial improvement in their station. For in that year a public protest by Indies-born Dutch and Eurasians living in Batavia against the privileges in employment enjoyed by "imported Dutchmen" educated in Holland caused serious alarm to the authorities. It was realised that this locally-born community had reached such a size and cohesion as to prove a dangerous threat to the stability of the regime unless its members were given a reasonable stake in society. In 1854, therefore, all the descendants of Europeans on the father's side (i.e. the great majority of Eurasians) were legally ranked as Europeans, and during the closing decades of the century educational facilities for all "Europeans" in the Indies were greatly improved. Under the Ethical Policy of 1902 the trend towards a better status for the Eurasians became accelerated, and such developments as the opening of the technical university at Bandung in 1920 provided further scope for their advancement.

From many points of view the policy of merging the Eurasian with the European community must be regarded as very successful. Certainly the Eurasians themselves became staunch supporters of the continuance of Dutch rule and indeed were often "plus royalistes que le roi" in their political leanings. With the expansion of the civil and technical services they found growing scope for employment, and by the 1930's constituted the backbone of the administrative machine in its widest sense, as also of the Indies army and police force. Likewise in the teaching, engineering and legal professions they played an outstanding part, though it is true that in commerce some of the old prejudice against them survived in popular rationalizations to the effect that they lacked drive and initiative.

As regards income levels perhaps five per cent. of the Eurasians were in jobs that would have been considered really good by Europeans, outstanding cases being the heads of four out of a total of eight Government Departments, and the C. in C. of the Indies army, General Berenschot. A further 25 per cent. or so held posts which would not have been considered beneath the dignity of a European, and normally carried European pay and leave, which made it possible to visit Holland from time to time and perhaps to send their children there for part of their education. The remaining 70 per cent. were in jobs of a generally lower character, such as engine drivers, garage mechanics, and inferior clerks.

There was, however, a less satisfactory side to this situation. For, in placating the Eurasians the Dutch tended to give too little scope to the Indonesians themselves. Since the Eurasian community, supplemented by local and "imported" Dutchmen was more than large enough to fill nearly all the better paid jobs, the Indonesians had for a long time to be content with what was left. By the end of the 1920's the small but growing Indonesian intelligentsia was already challenging this state of affairs, and especially after the economic crisis of the 1930's Eurasians began to be displaced from their jobs by no less competent Indonesians who were prepared to accept lower wages.

The Eurasians' political organization, the I.E.V.

(Indo-Europeesch Verbond) struggled hard against this threat to its members, many of whom were in danger of slipping down to a mode of living indistinguishable from that of the Javanese peasant. Among other measures a scheme for Eurasian agricultural colonisation in New Guinea was attempted, though, allegedly because of over-hasty surveys and inadequate preparation, it petered out after achieving very little. However, the experience of the slump had done much to strengthen cohesion within the Eurasian community and, with the return of better economic conditions in the Indies as a whole, their lot improved strikingly. In the years immediately before the Pacific war their status and prospects probably appeared better than ever before, and a growing measure of solidarity was discernible between them and the Indies-born Dutch.

The circumstances of war and the Japanese occupation virtually added the finishing touches to this latter process, for the majority of those Eurasians who valued their Dutch connexions served in the N.E.I. forces and were consequently interned along with the Europeans. In this way their estrangement from the Indonesian population was completed and their places in civilian life were taken over by Indonesians, most of whom were inadequately trained for the purpose.

At the end of the war, therefore, when Eurasian prisoners and internees wished to return to their homes, conditions were singularly unpropitious. For three and a half years the Japanese had flooded the Indies with virulent anti-Western propaganda, which had made no distinction between Eurasians and *volbloed* Hollanders. Racial feelings were thus intense and in the chaos following the proclamation of the Indonesian Republic and the two so-called "police actions" against it, the Eurasians as the middle community between the two contestants were particularly hard hit, many of their members being murdered by irresponsible Indonesian extremists. Not unnaturally the memory of this terror is hard to erase, and the subsequent Transfer of Sovereignty to the Indonesian Republic in December, 1949, has served rather to intensify the Eurasians' fears for survival.

Clearly this latest development, representing the triumph of the nationalist revolution, appears in a very different light to the Eurasians. The former synthesis between East and West is a thing of the past, and the Eurasians, as the very embodiment of that synthesis, are placed in a cruel dilemma. By the ties of birth and upbringing they are bound to the Indies, to the development and administration of which they have in the past contributed so much. But socially and politically their outlook is to the West and their pride in the Dutch connexion is strong, often to the point of bigotry. Thus the present-day decline in efficiency in Indonesia and the general confusion inevitably associated with the initial stages of independence probably cause more distress to the Eurasians than to the Dutch themselves. For it is the Eurasians' own homeland that is being transformed in a way that runs counter to all their cherished aspirations. As so frequently happens in periods of great crisis, it is the middle component which suffers most.

The reactions of Eurasians to the post-war situation have been by no means uniform. Perhaps most understandable have been the attempts to find a compromise solution by migrating to remote parts of the archipelago unaffected by the nationalist fever. In this respect some

of the eastern islands containing such traditionally pro-Dutch minority peoples as the Ambonese and Menadonese were seriously considered in the years immediately following the war, when the Dutch were hoping to introduce a federal regime in Indonesia giving a high degree of autonomy to the Great East, as the area east of Java and Borneo was called.

Still more attractive, however, to large numbers of Eurasians appeared the possibility of reviving earlier projects for colonising the virtually undeveloped territories in Dutch New Guinea. The beginning of petroleum extraction there since the war has led to some fantastic wishful thinking regarding the economic prospects of this extremely difficult and ill-favoured land, and in this frame of mind the disappointments of the 1930's are all too easily brushed aside as irrelevant. Already since 1945 several hundreds of Eurasians have emigrated thither, despite the caution which the Dutch authorities have rightly continued to urge in this respect.

To other Eurasians the desire to break away completely from Indonesia and the bitter memories which it holds has been uppermost, and several thousands have gone to Holland in the hope of finding a living there. Many of these have arrived with only a few guilders in their pockets, and about 10,000 are still living in camps set up by the authorities in various parts of the country. For the most part their prospects of finding a permanent niche in Holland are pathetically small.

Still others, particularly the more enterprising Eurasians, have sought to emigrate to foreign lands, but here also the difficulties are great. Owing to the drastic measures taken by the Indonesian authorities to combat inflation, the amount of capital, usually in the form of accumulated pensions, which such people can take with them has been severely reduced. And, furthermore, nearly all the more popular pioneer lands have rigid colour bars which effectively exclude Eurasians. An important exception to this rule is Brazil, and Dutch—including Eurasian—emigration thereto on a limited scale seems to have a reasonably bright future.

But, as must surely be inevitable in view of the numbers concerned, the great majority of Eurasians still remain in Java, and it is difficult to believe that any other answer can be found to their problem. Undoubtedly the anxiety of the Dutch to preserve western New Guinea as a last refuge for such Eurasians as find it impossible to survive elsewhere goes far to explain their attempts to detach that territory politically from Indonesia. From this point of view, however, it is probable that more harm than good has been done. Indonesian suspicions of Dutch and Eurasian motives have been aroused in a manner that can easily react adversely against both the Eurasians in their midst and the survival of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union itself. Moreover, the association of many Eurasians, especially via the armed forces, with other pro-Dutch groups like the Menadonese and Ambonese, who have recently shown their hostility to the new regime, adds a further complication to the problem.

Nevertheless, the Indonesians continue to appeal to the Eurasian population, including those who are now living in Holland, to accept the newly-created Indonesian nationality and to become loyal citizens of the Republic. This is not an easy decision to make, though the degree of difficulty varies between different sections of the community.

At present the small group of Eurasians in really senior posts can afford to ignore it altogether, since their qualifications are such as to ensure them a privileged status whether they stay on as "European" advisers, or decide to move elsewhere. Conversely the lowest section of the Eurasian community, which has always tended to slip back to a more or less Indonesian mode of living, would not suffer seriously, except for a time in its *amour propre*, by letting the European connection go.

It is the remaining 25 per cent. or so who, by virtue of sheer ability, had previously lived on an equal footing with the ordinary Hollander in the Indies, who will find the choice most difficult to make. If they throw in their lot with the Republic it will probably mean that the Eurasian community as a whole, which has hitherto preserved its identity largely through their efforts, and through intermarriage at this level with Europeans, will gradually become indistinguishable from the Indonesians. This, in fact, was what the I.E.V. had always striven to prevent. But in the changed circumstances of today it is probably the best course available, even though it will unquestionably entail real spiritual sacrifices in much more than mere pride to a great many.

For such as are prepared to follow this course, however, there is at least every reason to believe that ready, and by no means unremunerative employment is available. The new Indonesia is well aware of its shortage in personnel possessing the western training, skill and experience which Eurasians have to offer. If only the immense psychological adjustment which is entailed can be made, the Eurasians may yet continue to make an outstanding contribution towards bridging the gap between East and West.

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ASIA FOR THE ASIANS ?

By MARC T. GREENE

WHEN the Japanese took this as their slogan, in their declared intent to establish the "new order in East Asia," they submitted in four words a case against the white man in the East whose psychological potency could not have been exceeded in four thousand. Asia for the Asians rather than for the European—an end to his long dominance, material if not cultural, and an Eastern world as opposed to the Western and freed for all time from its influence!

All this and more was comprehended in the slogan. "Asia for the Asians." It took hold upon every branch of the Asian peoples, from Mukden to Mandalay and from Canton to Colombo. True, not all were happy in envisaging an implementation of the slogan under Japanese dominance. But even then the picture of an Asia for, by and of Asians could not but stir every Asian heart.

One of the many Japanese blunders was the promptness with which they impressed upon every part of the East that came under their sway in the early months of the war that what was really meant was "Asia for the Japanese." It very soon became clear that this was the real objective and that no method, however harsh, would be neglected to achieve this.

Yet here the Japanese had a slogan of incredible potency. They had but to implement it with tact, wisdom, and, above all, sympathy, to put the West on the defensive everywhere and make its task immeasurably more difficult than it was—indeed, perhaps impossible.

The mistake much of the Western world is making today, and a very dangerous mistake it is, is to conclude that with Japan's defeat "Asia for the Asians" lost its potency as a slogan and as an ideal with the majority of the Asian peoples. In fact, that potency has been increasing ever since the Chinese revolution of 1926-27 when it first began to be openly enunciated on a wide scale. Its psychological force was strongest during the first flushes of the Japanese victorious campaigns. Yet with the end of those victories and with the final downfall of Japan that force was little diminished. With the adoption of much the same position by the Chinese Communists and other revolutionary movements throughout the East the potency of "Asia for the Asians" becomes more than ever a power with which we must reckon. Not a few informed people, neither alarmists nor pessimists, hold that the "white man's day is done" in the East. Done, that is to say, as a force to which Asians will admit inferiority in any concernment, and done as an influence on the Asian way of life.

That is what Asia for the Asians in the final analysis actually means. However unpalatable it all may be to the old school of white men in the East, to the "Old China Hand" and the smug and often arrogant *taipan* in his "no-Chinese-allowed" club, to the race-

conscious young Britisher in his first post in the East, it is the position that must be faced. And the longer the facing is delayed the less chance may remain for the European at all.

Everywhere east of Suez he is, to a greater or lesser extent, at bay. Only in Japan, under a military occupation, is his position really secure, secure, that is to say, in the sense of fifty, or even thirty years ago. Shanghai, his strongest hold and most important commercially speaking, is as good as lost to him. In its present morass of dirt, poverty, disorder and general uncertainty he remains in small numbers only by sufferance and under discouraging conditions. The position of Hong Kong is hazardous, and charged with apprehension and doubt as to its continuance as a British outpost of empire. It is crammed with twice its pre-war population, and its contrasts of want and wealth are more bitter even than Shanghai's in the old days. Moon-faced *tuchans* and "retired" war-lords spend most of the days and a good deal of the nights in the rich lounges of the Peninsula and Gloucester and Hong Kong hotels eating and drinking incessantly, while emaciated beggars throng the alleys and noisome lanes and whole Chinese families exist precariously and in desperate want in single rooms.

But all have one thing in common—an awareness that they may meet a common fate, that life in Hong Kong for everybody, rich and poor alike, is an existence on top of a volcano whose rumblings approach ever nearer.

"Asia for the Asians" is the slogan of Ho Chi-minh and his armies in Indo-China who have sworn, however recklessly, to "drive the French from the East." It is the slogan of the Burmese "rebels," and the Communist underground in Siam. When the Japanese brought Soekarno and Hatta from their exile on the island of Banda Neira back to Java and thus laid the foundations of the post-war Indonesian Nationalist revolt against the Dutch the cry "Asia for the Asians" was the inciting force.

Few Europeans even yet appreciate its psychological influence among the Eastern peoples. Through all the years of labour at low wages for the foreign overlord, call it "exploitation" or not as you please, discontent slowly became resentment and resentment at last became revolt, a revolt which flamed when the Japanese temporarily overthrew the white man's sway, dispelled the myth of his "inevitability," and flung in his humiliated face the Asia-for-Asians slogan.

This, proclaim the leaders of revolt against foreign dominance, has been our undeclared aim for generations, the unuttered thought in our hearts, the hope that has sustained us in hunger and travail. And the goal is at last at hand!

But is it? That is the question. If the Asian peoples should succeed in throwing off the yoke of the West, in

freeing themselves entirely from European domination and even European influence, in grasping their destiny in their own hands, where does that leave them?

There is no greater folly than to believe that any people, East or West, can take in one leap the gulf that lies between two or three centuries of varying degrees of subjectivity and complete self-determination. It is psychologically impossible. A fall into the gulf is certain, and there the wide-open arms of Communism may very likely be waiting to receive the fallen. In that case, the yoke of the West will be replaced by a worse, and the goal will be farther away than ever. Yet that will not mean its abandonment. What it will almost certainly mean will be further revolt, revolt against a far more ruthless power than ever the Western "exploiter" was found to be, and so a greater misery and a deeper chaos.

The error of the white man's way in the East is that he stubbornly refused to yield anything to the Asian peoples' cumulative dissatisfaction with their lot as labourers at a meagre wage and with their lack of any voice in the determination of their own destinies. Especially was this the case in Indonesia and Indo-China, less so in British possessions. Evidences of dissatisfaction with the *status quo* received short shrift from the Dutch and the French with the inevitable result that resentment grew and accumulated until finally the measure and shape of its implementation was far-reaching and savage.

The war ended the old colonial system because it not only disclosed its weaknesses in the inability of the colonial Powers to protect it, but at the same time shattered the conception of white invincibility. If the white man, the colonial overlord, could not protect his possessions he was not more worthy of further allegiance or even of respect than the medieval feudal baron who could no longer defend his retainers. That being the case, the aforesaid rallying-call fell upon willing ears. That the system could have been perpetuated almost indefinitely by some yielding to the demands of the aroused colonial peoples, by real measures looking toward a betterment of their low living-standards, by reasonable compromises in the matter of political reform, and by a convincing assurance of an intent to lead them gradually towards the goal of ultimate self-determination, every informed person knows. But the lessons of the war were unheeded, the potency of Asia-for-Asians slogan was never appreciated, and the bitterness of a great part of Asia was not understood. The amazingly obtuse position seemed to be taken that, the Japanese having been defeated, the *status quo ante* could be resumed and restored, and everything would be as of old. It is useless to bewail such sorry mistakes, but even now it is not too late to profit by them. Because revolt in Asia has largely fallen into hands that will postpone the Asia-for-Asians goal, into an indefinite future, and therefore in all likelihood bring about a second revolt against Western overlordship out of which the white man may even re-establish some degree of his former influence among Asian peoples.

But always he must bear in mind the Asian's awareness of his own strength and of his right to stand man-to-man with the European. Only on that basis has the white man any future in the East, political, social or economic.

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EAST - WEST PERSONALITIES

MISS C. A. RADHA BAI, the first woman in India to hold a Regional Labour Commissioner's office, comes from Madras State, and although only 33 years years old, she has an impressive record of achievements. After taking an honours degree in economics from the Presidency College, Madras, she joined the Madras University as a research scholar, and was one of a deputation appointed by the university to conduct a



sample survey into the socio-economic effects of prohibition in 1939. The results of her survey of the historic Saleem experiment of the ex-Governor-General Mr. Rajagopalachari, who was Premier of Madras at the time, were embodied in a brochure published by the University of Madras. As a Research Fellow of the University she made a special study

of labour problems with particular reference to female labour and contributed articles on the gainful employment of women.

In 1944, Miss Radha Bai joined the Department of Labour, Government of India, as Assistant Lady Welfare Adviser. She soon realised the appalling conditions under which miners lived and worked, and after making a special study of the problems of colliery labour, she submitted reports to the Government, making concrete suggestions for reducing absenteeism and increasing labour productivity. She has toured all over India and has an intimate knowledge of the conditions of work and living of men working in collieries, and in manganese, mica, gold and diamond mines. She prepared a scheme for the organisation of welfare work among the coal-miners which was approved by the Ministry of Labour, and which was implemented in 1946. Much of the success of Miss Radha Bai's organisational work was due to the fact that she lived amongst the miners, and so gained first-hand knowledge of their problems. It was among them that her organisational abilities, tenacious devotion to social welfare work and sincerity of purpose were given an important outlet.

In 1948 Miss Radha Bai was sent to the United Kingdom by the Government of India to study the conditions of labour in the coal fields. She stayed in the United Kingdom for about six months and after a study

tour of the continent returned to India and submitted a valuable report on "Living Standards and Social Service" for which she was awarded a Fellowship by the Department of Social Affairs of the United Nations. She has selected the Talkatora Sweepers' Colony in New Delhi as an experimental field for introducing measures of welfare inspired by her study and observation abroad. In the midst of official work she finds time to organise welfare activities in the colony which is provided with a crèche, co-operative stores, equipment for sports, and educational and medical facilities with the necessary trained staff.

Admirals Versus Generals

THE recently attempted naval coup in Siam has a deeper significance in world affairs. Marshal Pibul Songram was a young colonel whose hold on the army helped to consolidate the power of the party which took office in 1933 with the object of making Siam a real constitutional monarchy. As so often happens in the East, their dreams were ahead of the times, and the tussle between King and ministers ended with the former going to Europe and later abdicating. In 1938, in the reign of the boy King Ananda Mahidol, Pibul became Prime Minister, staying in office six years. Before Pearl Harbour he proclaimed with a vehemence worthy of the forces of Titipu his resolve to repel any aggression, but when the Japanese walked in not only was there next to no resistance but active collaboration to the extent of a declaration of war on the U.K. one month later. Even in those days there was army-navy tension and it is believed that naval influence was partly responsible for Pibul's going out of office in 1944. Siam was the first enemy country to sign a peace treaty with the U.K. and Commonwealth countries and also the first to become a member of the United Nations. Despite his wartime record, Pibul was back in politics after the mysterious murder of the boy king. Within a few months he was Prime Minister, strangely enough about the time of another of the army-navy disturbances. He has led Siam in a policy of staunch support of the United Nations, including the action in Korea. Siam is regarded as a stabilising force in South-East Asia, as her people are relatively well-fed and the administration is strong, even if it borders on dictatorship. But is its strength healthy? Strong fighting arms, not answerable to any popular legislature, each autonomous and with ambitious leaders scheming for power, can be an unmixed evil. The navy's dramatic move in capturing the Prime Minister at pistol point at a public function was defeated this time, but some day the army may not rally so swiftly to his support. Or, tiring of the old leadership, it may look for new. China's war lords should provide Siam with an awful example of the dangers inherent in the present situation.

Hungry men have no ears

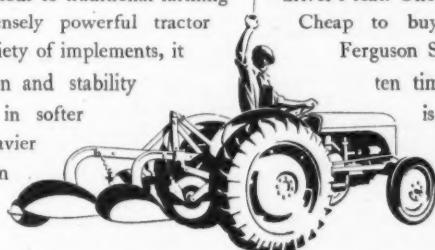


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LEARNING ABOUT THE COMMONWEALTH

By SIR HARRY LINDSAY
(*Director of the Imperial Institute, London.*)

DURING recent years, the Commonwealth has played an increasingly important role in world affairs, and a knowledge of Commonwealth geography, especially in its human and economic aspects, has become a necessary part of school studies. At the same time, new methods of instruction, particularly those involving visual aids, are now widely used as supplements to school textbooks and lectures, and in this connection the facilities offered by the Imperial Institute give schoolchildren of all ages an opportunity of studying the peoples and products of the Commonwealth in a unique and practical way.



Malaya Court at Imperial Institute.
[By courtesy of Imperial Institute.]

The Imperial Institute was founded in 1887 as a memorial of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, and was opened in 1893. Its functions were to maintain a permanent collection of exhibits representing all the important raw materials and manufactured products of the Empire; to arrange special exhibitions, lectures and conferences, and in addition, to foster friendly relations between the different parts of the Empire. It also undertook to collect and distribute information concerning the various Empire trades and industries. However, in 1925, the purposes of the Institute were redefined, and although a distinction was still maintained between the scientific and the educational sides of its activities, its Galleries were widened in scope and were re-arranged to give permanent exhibitions to illustrate the resources and development of the Empire, as well as its scenery and everyday life.

To-day, the four main Galleries are divided into Courts, each devoted to a Dominion or Colony. By means of exhibits of various kinds, much of the atmosphere of the country concerned is conveyed to the visitor, while pictorial displays, models, relief maps and charts supplement the actual specimens of Commonwealth products. Colour and realism are introduced by lighted picture

models of local life and scenery, agriculture and industry. "Story Exhibits" trace the processes of production and manufacture from the raw material to the finished article, and in this way visitors are able to appreciate the role which Commonwealth products play in their everyday life.

As might be expected, the Asian courts form perhaps the most striking and colourful section of the Institute. The India Court shows sandalwood carving and samples of silver and metal ware, while beautifully woven brocades and tissues and ceremonial garlands decorate its walls. The Pakistan Court has a good display of sports goods, surgical instruments and textiles. Samples of minerals and agricultural products, including fibres, oilseeds, foodgrains, tea and tobacco give a practical introduction to this country's natural resources, and craftsmanship is represented by articles in silver filigree and lac. The Ceylon Court shows samples of coir fibre and articles made of this product, whilst a lighted diorama gives a realistic picture of rubber tappers at work. Rubber, both raw and in various stages of processing, is displayed in the Malaya and Singapore Court, and among the exhibits of local craftsmanship are articles in everyday use, for instance a Malay pepper crusher, tobacco box and wooden pillow. A useful aid to visual geography is the large relief map, which shows the different spheres of administration in the Peninsula. In the North Borneo Court, a full-size Merut costume with its attractive headdress, together with the model of a furnished house in the Fiji Court, depict the domestic side of life in these parts of the Commonwealth. Weapons, a model outrigger canoe, domestic utensils and pieces of bark cloth graphically illustrate the use of which local resources have been put.

These are only a rough indication of the general scope of the Institute, since in addition to the Galleries, it supplies other visual aids to schools. These mostly consist of samples of raw materials of Commonwealth origin, for instance, coir, cotton, rubber or oilseeds. Other equipment, such as lantern slides and film strips to illustrate the peoples, products and scenery of all the Commonwealth countries are available on loan, free of charge. A most gratifying scheme has been the setting up of a panel of experienced lecturers with intimate personal and up-to-date knowledge of the Commonwealth. Many of the lecturers are nationals of the countries about which they speak, and by means of these talks an attempt is made to present a realistic background to school studies.

From this brief outline of the Institute's activities, it will be seen that although the British Empire as such has suffered many changes, nevertheless there is a growing acknowledgment of the part which each member of the Commonwealth plays, not only in relation to other member countries, but also to the rest of the world. The emphasis today is not on exploitation, but on co-operation and understanding, and in this connection the Imperial Institute has a worthwhile function to fulfil. To judge by the thousands of schoolchildren who visit its galleries each year, this function is recognised and appreciated.

THE LURE OF THE HIMALAYAS

By ALFRED J. EDWIN

FOR almost a century now the snow-covered peaks of the Himalayas have lured the best-known climbers and mountaineers of the world. Though there are more than 50 summits of over 25,000 feet in the Himalayas, pride of place has always gone to Mount Everest which, at 29,141 feet, remains the highest known peak in the world. The story of Everest expeditions date back to 1921 when a reconnaissance party, led by Lt. Col. C. K. Howard-Bury, undertook a detailed study of the northern faces of the peak. The experience gained was utilised by the next party that set out in 1922, under the leadership of Brig. Gen. the Hon. C. G. Bruce. This expedition was the first serious attempt to climb Mount Everest, the previous year's effort being mainly exploratory. Two members of the party—Captain J. G. Bruce and Captain G. I. Finch—struggled through frost and snow to reach a height of 27,300 feet, but the expedition ended in disaster. Seven men lost their lives, being swept off the mountain by an avalanche.

Undeterred by the failure of his first attempt, Brig. Gen. Bruce returned to Everest two years later, in charge of a new expedition. But ill-health prevented him from active participation and the assault on the unconquered Everest was led by Lt. Col. E. F. Norton. Though some success was achieved in the early days, tragedy once again marred their efforts. Lt. Col. Norton and one of his companions, Dr. T. H. Somervell, in an ambitious bid reached an altitude of 28,100 feet—almost a thousand feet higher than the level reached in 1922. The final attempt to reach the top was made by G. L. Mallory and A. C. Irvine. These two climbers left camp on June 8, 1924, only to perish in the eternal snows. Two days later N. E. Odell, who along with V. Hazard had assisted in the final assault, made an unsuccessful attempt to locate the missing mountaineers. Soon after this the expedition was abandoned.

Nine years passed by before another attempt was made to scale Everest's challenging heights. The Royal



The Himalayas with Mount Kabru

Geographical Society and the Alpine Club jointly sponsored an expedition which made the attempt in the summer of 1933 under the leadership of Hugh Ruttledge. One of the members of the party was F. S. Smythe, who two years earlier had led a small party of British climbers to the top of Mount Kamet (25,447 feet). Among other members of the 1933 expedition were Dr. C. R. Greene, Capt. E. St. J. Birnie, and Eric E. Shipton (in charge of the 1951 expedition).

It is interesting to recall that this Everest expedition was equipped with wireless, enabling weather reports from Calcutta to reach up to 21,000 feet where Camp III was established. The wireless link-up was by way of Darjeeling and the base camp in the Rongbuk Valley. From Camp III, telephone wires carried the messages to up to 23,000 feet on the North Col. But from the start the expedition had to face very violent weather conditions including blizzards and high gales. The highest point reached during this unsuccessful bid to top Mount Everest was 28,100 feet—the same height as achieved by Norton and Somervell in 1924.

A year later (in 1934) Mount Everest became the scene of a solitary trek by a young airman, Maurice Wilson. Travelling in disguise he approached the peak by way of Tibet. With the help of a few porters he is known to have reached about 21,000 feet. Thereafter Wilson advanced alone and nothing was heard about him until his body was discovered by the 1935 expedition led by Eric Shipton.

Shipton's 1935 expedition, like the one organised in 1921, was not an attempt to climb the summit, but was intended for exploratory work. The party ascended a

number of peaks of over 20,000 feet and gathered valuable data about ice-formations and weather conditions.

In 1936 another full expedition was organised under the leadership of Hugh Ruttledge, who had the command of the 1933 party. The expedition included Shipton and Smythe, two climbers who by then had become leading figures in the field of Himalayan mountaineering. Unusually bad weather was encountered at the start, and the forces of Nature were once again triumphant. By sheer courage and determination the mountaineers persisted with their task, only to be driven back by the premature arrival of the monsoon in the last week of May. In one of the last attempts Shipton and Wyn Harris were pushed down by an avalanche and almost lost their lives.

Yet another expedition—the last before World War II—set out to conquer Everest in 1938. Led by H. W. Tilman, the party consisted of six others: Eric Shipton, F. S. Smythe, N. E. Odell, Dr. C. B. M. Warren, P. Lloyd and Captain P. R. Oliver. Once again exceptionally adverse conditions prevented the climbers from reaching the summit. In fact the weather experienced during this expedition was worse than that met with in any of the earlier attempts. But in spite of the heavy odds—the monsoon broke in the first week of May—the climbers tried to achieve the well-nigh impossible. By the middle of June the expedition had been abandoned but not until Shipton had reached a height of just over 27,000 feet. About the same height was reached by Tilman and Lloyd on June 11 in the final assault.

The 1938 expedition, although it suffered the same fate as the earlier attempts, was notable for one reason. Unlike the previous expeditions it was lightly-equipped, and proved that a smaller expedition had considerable advantages over large, cumbersome parties.

Although Everest withstood the challenge of these several expeditions, another way was found to conquer it. In 1933—the year in which Hugh Ruttledge's party was struggling against snow and blizzard—Lady Houston financed an aerial expedition for photographing Mount Everest from the air. Two aircraft, especially equipped for the purpose, flew successfully over the peak and obtained some useful photographs.

That in short is the story of Everest climbing to which a new chapter is being added this year. The British reconnaissance expedition, which has been jointly sponsored by the Royal Geographical Society and the Alpine Club of London and is led by the famous climber Eric Shipton, is the first attempt to explore the southern ridge of Everest. It is also the first expedition ever to scale the mountain in winter: according to present plans the climbers hope to continue their explorations till November.

The fact that the main purpose of the expedition is reconnaissance should not minimise its importance. It was the exploratory work of H. W. Tilman and Eric Shipton in 1934 that led to the successful assault on 25,660-foot high Nanda Devi—the highest Himalayan peak yet climbed.

GANDHI: MAHATMA OR POLITICIAN ?

By B. KRISHNA

OVER a decade ago, a famous British journalist, George Slocombe, called Gandhi an enigma. To many Indians, if Gandhi the Politician was not an enigma then, he had certainly become so in 1947. He was admittedly the main architect of Indian independence; he was the undisputed apostle of Truth and Non-Violence; he was the author and leader of the revolutionary non-violent political struggle in India from 1920-21 onwards, and he is a possible precursor of a great age in world history. Yet, people ask: Was Gandhi a Mahatma or a politician?

That Gandhi was a Mahatma goes unchallenged with every Hindu—of any caste or creed, orthodox or heretic. He had in his lifetime found a place of profound reverence, rather adoration, in the heart of every Hindu. This he had attained through his philosophy of self-abnegation and his cult of truth and non-violence—principles which form the very core of Hinduism. But more than his philosophy what attracted people most towards him was his childlike simplicity and integrity in all he did. He had renounced the world. Yet he did not lead a secluded life in the serene sublimity of the Himalayas; he rather preferred to live amidst his people, without any affectations, sharing their joys and sorrows and practising and preaching among them the virtue of all virtues, Truth. He believed: Truth is God and God is Truth. As a Mahatma, Gandhi, therefore, was among the greatest Hindu social and religious reformers. In a way he was greater than many, because his catholicism and love of humanity transcended all barriers of race and religion.

Like all great men, Gandhi too had set himself two main

goals: one was a unified, reformed Hindu society through the emancipation of the untouchables; the other, a united independent Motherland. While in the first he was largely influenced by his own excommunication from society on his return home from his first visit to England, his strong sense of political self-respect was awakened in South Africa, where he was called the "coolie" barrister.

The cause of the untouchables was dearest to Gandhi's heart. His profound love of this unfortunate "scum" of the community led him to give them a respectable name, Harijans—God's own people—in order to cure them of their inferiority complex and make them feel the dignity and nobility of the human person. To identify himself completely with them, he even described himself as "an untouchable by choice." Abolition of untouchability had, in fact, become an article of faith with him, rather the "dream of my life" as he himself put it. "What I want, what I am living for . . . is the eradication of untouchability, root and branch," he once declared. And he considered it "an issue of transcendental value, far surpassing Swaraj in terms of political constitutions."

Gandhi had the foresight to see clearly the danger that lay in the evil of untouchability for Hindu society as early as 1915—long before the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. He therefore had an article incorporated in the Congress programme for its eradication. It was a most astute and timely move, and it marked the beginning of a social struggle far more tough than his political battle since it gave no immediate spectacular

results. It was no easy matter for a Bania (the third Hindu caste) to break the opposition of influential and powerful Brahmins and make them willingly yield their centuries-old privileges and prerogatives handed down from father to son. It was a Herculean task, for there was great opposition from all directions.

In spite of Gandhi's ceaseless efforts, the demon raised its head in 1932, casting an evil eye on the unity and well-being of the community. Gandhi was too shrewd and penetrating to sense in the Communal Award, granting separate electorates to the Depressed Classes, "the injection of a poison calculated to destroy Hinduism." The occasion was grave and required a grave decision, and Gandhi rose equal to it. He entered into a fast unto death—a fast primarily "intended to sting the Hindu conscience into right religious action"; but Gandhi's staking his life for the Harijan's uplift was, without doubt, a supreme act of sacrifice. The result was a great moral victory for him. He was, for the time being, successful in checking the evil which threatened the very roots of Hinduism. The process of break-up, had it not been halted by the Poona Pact which was signed as a result of the fast and which granted some special privileges to the Depressed Classes, might have ended in the four Hindu castes establishing themselves as separate entities. This would have surely meant the complete, irrevocable disintegration of Hinduism.

The fast was important for its electrifying effect on caste Hindus; it stung, as Gandhi desired, the Hindu conscience. Many a strong citadel of Hindu orthodoxy willingly surrendered. It was the first non-violent victory of its kind. Even an orthodox Brahmin like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya voluntarily presided over a conference in Bombay in September, 1932, held to save the life of Gandhi and to evolve a solution; and the conference resolved: "Henceforth, amongst Hindus no one shall be regarded as an untouchable by reason of his birth. . . . This right shall have statutory recognition at the first opportunity and shall be one of the earliest Acts of the Swaraj Parliament." But the chief cause of the Mahatma's success lay in his moral strength gained through self-purification by fasting. He had, indeed, great faith in the effectiveness of the Hindu philosophy of "fasting for self-purification" and "fasting for light."

While Gandhi's ideal of unified, reformed Hinduism has been attained with the outlawing of untouchability in the new Constitution, his second ideal of a united, independent Motherland has remained unfulfilled. He won his battle of freedom, but with the Motherland cut into two. His partial success in politics can be explained, firstly, because he was far ahead of his time and, secondly, he had grown inflexible in his political ideologies.

Gandhi preached his ideals of love and brotherhood, truth and non-violence at a time when the world and his country were not in a mood to listen to him. The world had only reached the stage of regional groupings, and his country was still passing through the communal fanaticism of the Middle Ages. Although he re-lit the torch that was once carried by Buddha and Christ, it remained dim because of the fires of hatred and greed raging furiously all around him.

But Gandhi's inflexibility in politics was, perhaps, the result of his earlier leadership of the Khilaphat movement (Moslem agitation in 1921 for the return of the Caliphate in Turkey), which had no doubt momentarily achieved Hindu - Moslem unity. Even in subsequent years, when the gulf between Hindus and Moslems had widened and the Moslem distrust of Congress was deepening and opposition solidifying, Gandhi dreamed of the Khilaphat years. His whole thinking, indeed, was coloured by the dream of Hindu - Moslem unity. This lead to his failure to harmonise his ideologies with the changing circumstances. The result was that in course of time the Moslem League's Nine Points increased to Fourteen, then to Twenty-one and ultimately Partition.

And many ask to-day: Could not the partition and the consequent massacre and misery have been averted? And many answer, and rightly so, that the partition of 1947 might have been avoided but for Gandhi's idealism. In 1924 Lala Lajpat Rai in a prophetic

warning said: "The communal consciousness is growing apace *pari passu* with the national consciousness. You have to reconcile the two if you want a Free United India." Gandhi himself held the same views, but he failed to adjust his idealism to the realism of the times. If he had accepted Lala Lajpat Rai's partition plan of 1925, that division of the country would have been much different from the division in 1947; the Motherland would not at least have been cut into two alien nations. The plan would have satisfied the Moslem demand for self-determination by granting autonomy to Moslem-majority areas of West Punjab, Sind and East Bengal and at the same time would have preserved India's unity under a federal Government. It was, in fact, much better and more practical than the Cabinet Mission Plan offered by Britain two decades later. This was, perhaps, the first opportunity which the "inflexible" Gandhi missed to realise his dream of a united independent Motherland.

The poet Iqbal's address to the Moslem League session in 1930 at Allahabad, in which the idea of Partition, it is often claimed, was first broached, provided another opportunity for Gandhi to adapt himself to the changing political atmosphere. What Iqbal actually demanded was the amalgamation, into a single State, of the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan (Kashmir was not mentioned) under an all-India federation. Still another opportunity came in August, 1933, when top-ranking Moslem League leaders described Pakistan as "a student's scheme" . . . "chimerical and impracticable." Gandhi the Politician committed the biggest blunder of his political career by adopting a non-committal attitude to the Communal Award in so far as it related to Moslems. Warnings by leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, if listened to, would not have permitted the Award to sow the seeds that yielded the 1947 harvest. Pandit Malaviya had told Congressmen at the 1934 Congress session held in Bombay: "If you want to have pure independence, you will have to reject the Communal Award." Even Gandhi's most trusted lieutenant, Sardar Patel, told him later when the two were in Yarva Jail: "If you had followed my advice, this Award would not have been there." And even as late as 1942, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's suggestion of accepting the Moslem demand in principle provided Gandhi with an opportunity to save the country from the disastrous consequences of the Partition in 1947.

Gandhi's inflexibility, therefore, was mainly due to his idealism; his sincere desire to see Hindu-Moslem unity achieved before everything else. Being a Mahatma, he had immense faith in the innate goodness of man: He expected every human being to rise to the level of his own political morality. But his expectations were invariably belied because he ignored practicalities and the stage man has so far reached in his progress towards Gandhi's ideals.

In spite of his inflexibility and political failures, Gandhi is justly acclaimed as the Father of the Indian Nation—the chief architect of Indian independence. He alone was responsible for changing the whole complexion of Congress from one of "petitioning" to that of "demanding freedom as a birthright", and it was he who instilled in his countrymen a feeling of political and social self-respect. He was, without doubt, India's greatest benefactor, politically and otherwise, and the man who in return commanded the greatest respect that a great man has ever enjoyed in his lifetime. And yet, Gandhi was not a politician; he was forced into politics by the circumstances prevailing in the country during the dark days of the Rowlett Act and O'Dwyerism in 1919. He was essentially a Mahatma, a "man of religion" as he himself once said.

Gandhi's contribution to world civilisation and culture lies in his proving that non-violence can successfully withstand repression of the worst type and finally emerge strengthened and purified. It was a new technique in political warfare applied on the moral plane. And a time in history is likely to come when the Mahatma's philosophy will find proper soil to blossom forth in its fullness,

FROM ALL QUARTERS



Tibetan Strolling Players

During the Losar—the Tibetan New Year's celebrations, troupes of players tour the country, enacting romances and dramas that have been handed down through many centuries. Most of the dialogue is sung and the audience often joins in. A tuneful chorus gives a scene-by-scene commentary on the action.

The drum plays a most important part in Tibetan music, and is used for all religious and festive occasions.

The male Lead of the traditional dances often carries a wand of authority with which he claims his wife by touching her on the shoulder—a relic of the days when women were captured by their prospective husbands. Every movement of the dances, every part of the costumes is traditional and symbolic.

Leper Asylum in West Java

The first stone of a new Leper Asylum at Tanggerang in West Java has been laid by Madame Hatta, wife of the Vice-President of Indonesia.

Speaking at the ceremony, Dr. Leimena revealed that throughout the whole of Indonesia about 70,000 people are suffering from leprosy, with only 44 asylums to accommodate them.

The new asylum will start with 250 patients, and will have a total capacity of 500. Part of the building will be used as a research centre for leprosy. The total cost of the project is estimated at between four and five million rupiahs.

Relics of Ancient Chinese Society Exhibited in Peking

Relics of ancient Chinese society, unearthed during the 1950 excavations at Anyang, the capital of the Yin dynasty (circa 1400 to 1200 B.C.), are on exhibition in Peking.

The relics were recovered from a large tomb and 25 sacrificial pits in the royal cemetery, 17 graves in another cemetery, and the ruins of living quarters of ordinary people. A model, made to scale, of the large tomb is on display. In it were buried ceremonial vessels of bronze and stone, pottery vessels, bronze weapons and bridle fittings, stone and jade ornaments, and carved bone and horn utensils. A large musical stone of grey limestone was found in perfect condition. When struck it gives out a clear ringing note.

The royal tomb, tombs of lesser nobles, graves of

the ordinary people and the sacrificial pits show the varied burial customs of the different classes.

The exhibition brings out clearly the brilliant cultural achievements of the period. The bronze, jade, stone, bone and wooden specimens on exhibit testify to the high level of industry and creative genius attained by the Chinese people in the second half of the second millennium B.C.

Teaching English in Siam

John Henry Burbank, a British teacher with experience in university classrooms in the United States, Japan, Rumania and Iran—as well as the royal palace in Baghdad—has been sent by UNESCO to Bangkok under its programme of technical assistance for economic development.

Mr. Burbank will advise the Siamese Ministry of Education on methods of teaching English, especially in the use of recordings and radio broadcasts as teaching aids.

Japan Establishes an International Theatre Centre

Japan recently became the 28th nation to establish its own national centre of the International Theatre Institute, an organisation sponsored by UNESCO.

The inaugural assembly of the Japanese Centre was attended by 67 theatrical workers as well as by representatives of the Japanese Government and of organisations in Japan dealing with the theatre, radio, press and films.

Mr. Seiichiro Takahashi, chairman of the Cultural Properties Preservation Commission and President of the Japan Arts Academy was elected president.

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BOOKS on the

Hindu Religion, Customs and Manners

by P. THOMAS, D.B. (*Taraporevala, Bombay*, Rs. 22)

Mr. Thomas is undoubtedly a great enthusiast. Few would venture, as he has done, to reduce to one volume of 15 chapters the bewildering wealth of material relating to Hindu religion, philosophy, arts, science, customs, manners and ceremonials. His style is forceful, elegant and placid. The work is supplemented by 251 illustrations, and has a glossary and index.

Though the first Indian edition is quite recent, the book was designed as early as 1900, as the author's remark on page 141 that "we are living in the . . . year 1900 A.D." makes clear. It finally reached the hands of the public, with a new preface, when "the Hindus have at last gained complete political freedom." Much water has flowed through the Ganges since the work was begun, and the author's mental attitude has also not remained unchanged. But these changes are unfortunately nothing better than a few chips added to his original materials, giving the appearance of a medley rather than an organic unity. The result is a curious mixture of fact and fantasy of observation and hearsay.

The preface makes the author's intention clear. "Perhaps the only book of its kind," he writes, "still widely read is the Abbé Dubois' well-known work written in the first half of the nineteenth century . . . the Abbé was a missionary, and many of his observations were coloured by a horror of the heathen. Further, his experience was confined to South India, and what he wrote of the Hindus of the North was based on hearsay. Above all, what was true of the Hindu in the first half of the nineteenth century is out of date now." As against this, Mr. Thomas seeks to "draw a balanced picture of the Hindus"—"the Hindus as they are." But, unfortunately, his writings, here largely of 1900, belie his intention, and they do nothing better than present him as a faithful commentator of his predecessor, the Abbé Dubois.

First and foremost he does not seem to have even a working knowledge of the Sanskrit language, so he has had to draw upon second-hand materials through various translations almost entirely by Europeans. His description of Hinduism is far from charitable. He appears to have singled out as targets the main pillars of Hinduism—the Aryans, the torchbearers of Hindu civilisation and culture, the caste system, Manu who codified the social and moral life of the Hindus, and idolatry. He is ingeniously at pains to hold up European notions of values as superior to those of India, with the result that an undertone of satire runs through the work, giving rise to the suspicion of a missionary zeal.

FAR EAST

Misunderstanding and even failure to understand many philosophical and other concepts have led him to make many naive and definitely wrong statements. For instance, he confuses the Vedic, Pauranic and Smarta concepts of cosmology, does not know that the "dogma of transmigration" is grounded in the Vedas, or that the caste system is dealt with in the Purusa-sukta of the Rg. Veda. Some other instances of naive mistakes are: Samskaras are not twelve but ten, marriage is never a contract, and professional mourners at the time of one's death are foreign to Indian tradition. Krishna was not the eighth incarnation of Vishnu, King Bhoja was not the patron of the poet Kalidasa, nor was Amarakosa a commentary on Yaska.

Mr. Thomas has painted the Aryans, the forefathers of the present-day Hindus, as a band of plunderers and marauders who enslaved the natives of the country, destroyed their culture and kept up a constant propaganda for their own. Their sense of racial superiority produced the caste system, with the Brahmins as the worst exploiters who monopolised religion. In fact, he has not missed a single opportunity to castigate the Brahmins and Manu, who systematised Vedic civilisation and culture for the benefit of later generations.

He applies the criterion of "the Englishman's conception of the happy family with father, mother and the children . . ." to judge a Hindu family, and finds in it "the decorum and formalities of a court," "as regards property a sort of communism," the head of a family "a dictator," and his wife a devil to the female folk in the house. He has discovered sexual motives among most of the temple-goers, both boys and girls, and all-round hypocrisy in social contacts.

Among religious sects he showers unqualified praise on Ramanuja. And the reason for this is not far to seek. It is no other than that his cult "is traced to a Christian source," "Its belief in divine grace is characteristically Christian." The author's theological prejudice now comes out into the open when in this context he observes, "Here then is a doctrine comprehensible and acceptable to the generality of mankind." Lest someone trace the doctrine of divine grace, as found in Ramanuja, to the Bhagavad-Gita, a definitely pre-Christian work, the author then indulges in a fantastic theory that the Gita was written by Samkara (800 A.D.).

In face of all this, it is hardly possible to claim, as the cover page does, that "the appearance of this . . . work . . . is a landmark in the history of the race." The author can write objectively on music and dancing, on architecture, sculpture and painting or on the art and science of love-making. The large amount of quotations in these chapters suggests that perhaps the author is better where he knows less.

S. BHATTACHARYA

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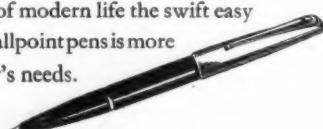
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WITH THE WORLD  WIDE SERVICE

Young Pakistan by RAFIQ M. KHAN and HERBERT S. STARK (Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 5s.)

"What a grand thing it is to be young in a young country like Pakistan. Yet we are old enough to remember the day on which it was proclaimed a free and equal Member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and we feel old enough to wish we could learn all about our land and play our full part in building its prosperity. We have the opportunity of preparing our whole lives for that purpose. Before us lie many years which we can spend in training for useful careers as citizens of this new State, and, we hope, still more years in which to serve its best interests."

With these words the authors start this inspiring little book, which has been written in order to guide and direct young citizens of Pakistan towards the bright future which lies ahead of them. There is a wealth of useful information on nearly every conceivable subject, from the working of the constitution to industry and agriculture. Stress is laid upon the two leading assets of Pakistan, her unlimited supplies of raw materials and the virile and independent character of her population, but it is made clear that these are not enough in themselves. Agriculture in the modern world can only succeed by the adoption of up-to-date methods of farming, and if the nation is to prosper, she must have factories as well. One of the most interesting chapters deals with Pakistan's place in the British Commonwealth, while there are others on public health, the position of women and what they can do to help their country, co-operative societies, transport and communications, and the importance of education as a means of inculcating good citizenship.

H. G. RAWLINSON

Twilight of the Mughuls by PERCIVAL SPEAR (Cambridge University Press, 18s.)

Unlike most historians of the closing years of the Moghul (which Dr. Spear prefers to spell Mughul) period, the author of these studies of Delhi in eclipse tries to tell his tale from the viewpoint of the ordinary citizen. Delhi has been the capital of many a powerful empire for thousands of years, the largest and most renowned city of the East. By the end of the 18th century it had become the headquarters of a pathetic puppet king—no longer referred to as an emperor—and a mere provincial capital accepting the tutelage of a trading company that had built up a position without precedent in history. Dr. Spear's researches into the rather topsy-turvy decades prior to the taking over of the government of India by the British Crown throw much interesting light on the curious state of affairs in Delhi at that time. Shorn of all real power, the King endeavoured nevertheless to save face by treating the East India Company's envoys as his servants. On their side the Company tried to reward the King as a pensioner of theirs while at the same time showing him such respect as it saw fit to display. But when Hastings was expected to call on Akbar II as a subject and present the customary nazrs, he declined and the proposed interview fell through. Later Lord Amherst was admitted

to audience at a ceremony carefully arranged by Sir John Metcalfe, in which while the King's superior rank was acknowledged, the Governor-General was not required to give tokens of submission. The King was however disappointed in the interview as it had led to no increase in his stipend.

Dr. Spear gives an account of Delhi during the Mutiny from the point of view of the local inhabitants. He describes the efforts at setting up an administration in the city and maintaining law and order. Bahadur Shah's one great achievement was the check on cow slaughter in deference to Hindu wishes. The banking community which was expected to pay the piper and replenish the coffers of the interim administration was by no means happy. The soldiers, with their pay in arrears, were a greater menace to order inside the city than the citizens and efforts to check their looting activities were a failure. Finally the city's supply position became serious, the more so as available supplies found a better market in the East India Company's encampment on the Ridge. The fall of the city and the reprisals of the British, in which all male citizens of Delhi were liable to be shot, conclude the last chapter in the sorry tale of the decline of Delhi where we find the last king and his family being taken to exile in Rangoon.

FARRUKHSIYAR

The Dhammapada by S. RADHAKRISHNAN (Oxford University Press, 12s. 6d.)

The Dhammapada is the most popular and influential anthology in Buddhist canonical literature, and is of high and permanent ethical value. Its matter, as well as form, can be very favourably compared to those of the more well-known Bhagavad-Gita.

The present edition is divided into an introduction, Pali Text, English Translation and Notes, and is furnished with a selected bibliography and index. The introduction deals with the cardinal tenets of the Buddha, reinterpreted with characteristic brevity, clarity and grasp, in a way highly acceptable to modern readers. The text is critical, the English translation is readable and the notes are illuminating. The unsparing care of the publishers has added to the excellent quality of this work.

S.B.

India's Message (Vol. 2 of *Fragments of a Prisoner's Diary*) by M. N. ROY (Renaissance Publishers, Calcutta, Rs. 6)

Three days before receiving this volume the reviewer was present at a meeting in London at which a world-famous British philosopher told some students from the East that he hoped they would teach the West something that would help it out of the mess brought about by excessive materialism. One is tempted to ask if this idea of the spiritual East and material West is not being overdone, especially by Western thinkers who know nothing of the East. It was therefore rather refreshing to read what M. N. Roy had to say on the subject. This volume—

a second edition, by the way—is most timely. As Roy says in his preface, "The belief in India's spiritual message to the materialist West is a heady wine." He sets out to demolish that belief, and whatever one may feel about his views on religion in general—which are very much those of his political teachers—it is as well to be warned of the "inebriation with frothy Gandhism" which makes many an Indian nationalist speak "as the prophet of a new civilisation."

BERNARD FONSECA

India, Pakistan, Ceylon edited by W. NORMAN BROWN, University of Pennsylvania (Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 24s.)

This book is a compact encyclopaedia of up-to-date information about the geography, history and culture of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, their flora and fauna and agricultural and mineral products. The first three chapters are devoted to economic development, anthropology, and sociology, and form an admirable introduction to what follows. There are disquisitions on Indian languages and literature, dancing, music and drama, architecture, sculpture and painting, religion and philosophy, law and archaeology. The chief defect of this work seems to be that a disproportionate amount of space is devoted to Sanskrit literature and philosophy, mainly of interest to scholars, to the exclusion of modern developments. Tribute is paid to that great industrial pioneer, Jamsetji Tata, but no mention is made of India's leading scientists, Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, Sir P. C. Ray and Sir C. V. Raman. Rabindranath Tagore has a passing reference, but Muhammad Iqbal, the most striking figure in the Moslem literary world of recent times, is completely passed over. Indeed, the reader looks in vain for any account of Urdu literature, in spite of its paramount importance to Pakistan. On the other hand, the historical summary in Chapters XII, XIII, and XIV, from the earliest times to 1950, is an admirable survey, lucid and impartial, of a vast and complicated subject. Similar defects to those noted above may be found in the chapter on Ceylon. In view of the important role which the Colombo Plan is destined to play in the destinies of South-East Asia, the reader would welcome details of the measures being taken by the present Government of Ceylon to revive the ancient irrigation system in the Polonnaruwa district, which, when completed, will greatly increase the world's supply of rice. The value of this scholarly little work is greatly enhanced by the admirable bibliography at the end of each chapter.

H. G. RAWLINSON

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REVIEW OF REVIEWS

ENGLISH students of Asian affairs will be especially interested in F. H. Soward's thorough analysis of

"The Korean Crisis and the Commonwealth," published in *Pacific Affairs* (Vol. XXIV, No. 2). The author, who is Director of International Studies and professor of History in the University of British Columbia, keeps away from the "impeccable platitudes" and "fine sounding generalisations" of the Declaration of the January Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting in London and tries not only to show the divergence of opinions, but also its psychological and political background. "Some hint of the manner in which many Asians regard the conflict," he says, "was given to the Western members of the Lucknow Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in October (1950). The crisis was the 'Abyssinia' of our time, and that failure to act firmly might have a calamitous effect upon the future of the United Nations and the security of small powers, did not seem to evoke much concern among the Asian members. Indians and Pakistanis were generally more ready to criticise the United States than the U.S.S.R., and were curiously eager to describe the distrust of American policy which, they said, was rampant in their countries. Most of them favoured an 'independent' line of action by countries like India—a policy which caused concern to Filipino and Japanese as well as Western members. When United States and Canadian members criticised the refusal of India to accept membership in the United Nations seven-power Korean Commission marked sensitivity was displayed by certain Indian members, one of whom accused the critics of 'pointing a pistol' at India's head. Enough was said both in debate and in private conversation at Lucknow to disturb those from the West who had not appreciated the skill of Soviet propaganda and the comparative lack of success of the United States in winning friends and influencing people in Asia. 'Solidarity forever', they learned, was not a slogan which could be used successfully in rallying Asian peoples around the standard of collective security."

In the same issue Mr. Bruno Lasker, a member of the U.N. Committee on Slavery, deals with "Freedom of Person in Asia and the Pacific" and says *inter alia*: "Slavery in the accepted meaning of the term still exists in all of Central Asia that has not been sovietised, in China, and occasionally in Malaysia. In Japan since the war, children are known to have been sold by their parents under conditions of extreme distress. But all of these occurrences are exceptional; as a legally-sanctioned status, slavery today persists only in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and perhaps six very small Arabian states and protectorates. Throughout the rest of the world only clandestine slavery survives."

A survey of "Australian Foreign Policy," highly topical after the conclusion of the Pacific Pact and the San Francisco Conference, is published by *The*

Australian Quarterly (Vol. XXIII, No. 2). Its author, Professor W. MacMahon Ball, was British Commonwealth Representative on the Allied Council for Japan. He admits that "the most that a small nation can reasonably hope for is that she will have some freedom in choosing the great power on whom she will depend. For most of the past fifty years Australia has depended mainly on Britain. The hard question now before us is whether we can in future depend mainly on the United States. Is this transfer of dependence possible, and, if so, will it secure and foster our distinctive Australian interests and ideals?" When, after the fall of Hong Kong and Singapore and the sinking of the *Repulse* and the *Prince of Wales* all hope had gone that British sea-power could protect Australia and occupation by the Japanese became a near-certainty, Prime Minister Curtin appealed to the United States for help. The American response and the U.S. victories in the Coral Sea and off Midway Island assured Australia's territorial security. But Australia's foreign policy problems have not become lesser because Australia now has a mutual security pact with the U.S.A. and New Zealand. Rightly Professor MacMahon Ball asks: "If we are to depend mainly on the United States for our military protection, does this mean that we should loyally and uncritically support American actions in East Asia? To be specific, should we give moral and perhaps military support to America's efforts to protect Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, and to her efforts to defeat Ho Chi-minh in Indo-China? If we feel obliged to give this measure of support it seems certain that Australia too will win the ill-will of East Asia. And we may be more vulnerable and exposed to the possible consequences of this ill-will than the United States."

People's China (Vol. IV, No. 3) publishes an article "Friendship with China," by Dr. Hewlett Johnson, the Dean of Canterbury and International Stalin Prize Laureate. After plenty of generalisations Dr. Johnson finds that "the great World Island, the Heartland of which Sir Halford Mackinder spoke during World War I, that great tract of land which, being possessed of illimitable manpower and unlimited supplies of raw material and fighting on interior lines, was invulnerable to attack—is a hundredfold invulnerable now. . . . Shall Britain smash herself and endanger all that is precious in her splendid civilisation in the vain attempt to crush herself against this great and new and beneficent world force?"

Among other periodicals I should like to mention *The Islamic Review* with some very informative articles on Moslem activities in Indonesia, Tunis and Iraq, and the suggestion of a Moslem World Bloc (September, 1951), and *The Fortnightly* (also of September) with an article by Dr. C. Northcote Parkinson, Professor of History in the University of Malaya; the writer comes to the conclusion that the *Report of the Singapore Riots Inquiry Commission 1951* does not do justice to the actions of the Singapore Government at the time of the riots.

JOHN KENNEDY

THE YENISEIANS OF MIDDLE SIBERIA

By HANS FINDEISEN

THE whole world celebrates Columbus as the first discoverer of America, but he gained this fame only because it had been completely forgotten that the Norsemen had discovered the New World some centuries before. As early as 1003 one hundred and forty men sailed in three ships from Greenland, which at that time the Norsemen also colonized, to the west, and came at last to a fertile woodland. They intended to found a colony, but the resistance of the Eskimos or of the Algonkin-Indians was so great that the survivors returned to Greenland in 1006.

Both discoveries of America have in common the fact that each time this continent was reached by sailing to the west. Was it, however, also possible to reach America by travelling to the east? The cultural connections between all the American Indian tribes, which have lately aroused the interest of ethnologists, and their obvious affinity with the peoples living in the area from Lapland to the Behring Strait make us think that the aboriginal culture of the North American Indians has its origin in Asia. The

consequence would be that the American Indians, too, descend from Asians. Let us see where in Asia we might find the men who have the greatest resemblance to the American Indians. These men have remained undiscovered for a long time, but I believe I have found them.

Invited by the famous Russian anthropologists, Professor L. Sternberg and W. G. Bogoras, I had the opportunity of working for about a year in Siberia and in the vast subarctic forest region of the middle Yenisei.

Already in Krasnoyarsk I met Russianised Siberian natives in the regional governmental offices, and Mr. Khryukin, who was ordered by the Soviet administration to accompany me on my trip to the north, was anthropologically a real Central Asiatic type, who, of course, did not know a single word of the Turkish-Tatar language, which was spoken by his ancestors.

On the steamer which I used for my journey down the Yenisei, I saw the first representatives of the Polar tribes of the Turukhansk province, a Yurak-Samoyed from the so-called Northern Tundra and a brown-faced and dark-eyed Yeniseian, who made a trip to Krasnoyarsk in order to discuss the affairs of the local co-operative society. After a short stay in the northern town of Yeniseisk, once the base of the Cossack conquest of all Eastern Siberia, I reached the mouth of the Stony Tunguska and the Russian village of Podkamennaya Tunguska, the main trading centre for both a group of the Yeniseians and for the reindeer-breeding Tunguses of the Stony Tunguska valley with their special trading post of Baikit in the endless primeval forests.

On my way to the north I saw tents, covered with birch bark, forming little white points on the shore of forgotten bays of the majestic Yenisei which pours its immense waters into the Arctic Ocean. As soon as possible I took a boat and paddled to the shore. After having lived by the side of a tent, which was inhabited by three families, I moved to a beautiful island in the Yenisei. I was accepted by the people in a way which I did not expect: a long-haired man with trachoma, a disease of the eyes, came down the wide shore. He wore a kerchief, a long green coat, Russian trousers and the customary mocassins. He had the elastic walk of a freeborn and free-living animal. And he wished to see . . . my passport! He was, as it proved, one of the elected tribal chiefs, the so-called sub-soviet (in Russian: *rodovoy soviet*). But as I learned later, he had absolutely no influence over his fellows. He was not a good hunter, for his trachoma was a hindrance to his being one, and this, I believe, was qualification enough for his tribesmen to elect him as a member of the soviet. This institution was enforced by the Soviet Government, but it was only a modification of the ancient institution of the "tribal elders," who had been appointed by the Tsarist government as an authority to assure the regular gathering of the *yassak*, taxes in the form of natural products, mostly furs, which were collected from the Siberian tribes.

Now my investigator could read neither Russian nor, what was still more natural, did he know any word of the German language, in which my passport was printed and written. He turned it upside down, looked earnestly at the letters and then gave it back to me. I was "alright." Later on this member of the soviet, whose name was Alexey Kamoski, became a good acquaintance of mine and my interpreter during the task of writing down several hundred pages of legends, myths and songs in the native language of the Yeniseians.

During the summer I studied the fishing methods of my



Yeniseian woman with child.

friends, for they all were fishermen, and I collected specimens of their civilisation for our ethnographic museums. With the coming of autumn, I went up the Stony Tunguska, and after a journey of about one week, I reached the hunting territory of the Yeniseians and the recently founded trading post of Black Island. About 300 persons lived near there, divided into two main groups of kinsfolk, who regarded themselves as descendants of two forest birds. Each of these two groups had its subdivisions, which were led by Shamans, the native priests, who are the real political and intellectual chiefs of their kinsfolk.

The religion of the Yeniseians is a belief in the creative power of Ace, the "Heaven," who made the universe, the earth and all living beings. He was married to Hossedam, who afterwards became the goddess of the underworld and of death. She sends the winter and destroys all that her former husband creates. Before beginning the winter hunting, the shamans carry out a ceremony to prevent Hossedam from following the Yeniseians into the deep forest. A wooden statue of the goddess is erected, and the shaman performs a mystery play, wherein he acts as a companion of the goddess on a voyage down the Yenisei. During this voyage the paddle is lost, as the shaman informs his listeners in a beautiful and impressive song, and at the end the boat itself runs aground and Hossedam cannot continue her voyage. When the performance has reached this point, the wooden statue of the goddess is upset and trampled into the snow. This action is a symbol, for after that the goddess is considered as no longer being able to follow the Yeniseians into the forest, hence the tribesmen will safely get over the winter hunting period.

These shamans are the most fascinating people in the circum-polar zone, for they believe themselves possessed by an ancestral spirit; they fall into a form of trance, and while the spirit is in them they fulfil the will of the spirit, prophesying, dancing, singing

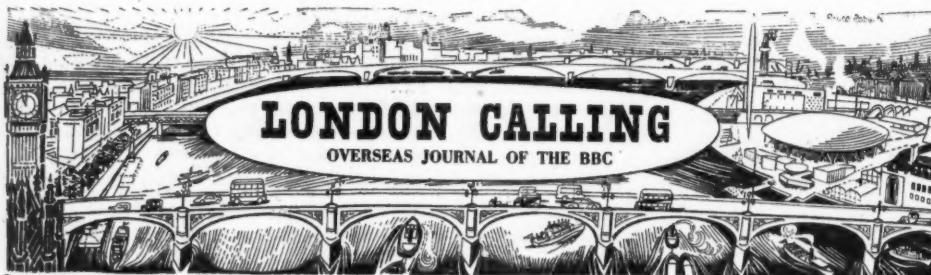


River Indian

Yenisseian

and beating the drum. The contemporary North Asiatic shamanism cannot be understood without a basic knowledge of spiritualistic ancestor worship, but in addition it requires the abilities of culturally creative personalities, who devote all their lives to the responsible task of protecting their kinsfolk from the actions of hostile demons of all kinds, who are hunting human souls.

The main job of the shaman is a medical one. He has to cure all the diseases of his kinsfolk. And sometimes he succeeds in doing so by the psychic influence and confidence in being healed which he develops in the sick person through performing the various ceremonies of searching for the demon, fighting him and bringing back the soul to his victim. All diseases are considered as being caused by the goddess of death herself or by demons who take away the souls of men and who (in the case of the death of the sick person) devour them.



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It was strange to study the figures and faces of my new friends. They seemed to me to be genuine American Indians, roving in the midst of the Asiatic continent. Those sharp-cut features with the jutting, hooked noses; the only slight characteristic features of the Mongol race; that impressive dignity and elasticity; all that could not be misunderstood. And they sang whole hymns of mystic heavenly travels in most melodious forms which, as the music experts in Berlin later declared without hesitation, correspond closely to the American Indian type of music. Professor von Hornbostel, as well as Dr. Mario Schneider, both well-known explorers of primitive music, gave independently the same opinion in regard to the American Indian style of music of the Yeniseians.

Could the American Indians perhaps have advanced in Northern Asia as far as the Yenisei? That was not likely, for peoples of quite another type had perhaps 1,000 years ago infiltrated into the original population between the Yenisei and the Coast of the Behring Strait which lies opposite America and had colonised immense tracts of land. Thus Professor von Eickstedt, the anthropologist, writes: "Only one thousand years ago, which means only 30 generations, and already in the full light of history, the colonisation of the middle Siberian mountain range . . . by the Tunguses took place gradually."

We know further that only the peoples on both coasts of the two continents had a regular intercourse in the form of trade or war. But here another thought intrudes: If the Yeniseians look like American Indians, it might be possible that they are remains of a race that, as the first real discoverers of North America, had once migrated toward the east and aeons ago had colonised America from the north. This opinion is supported by the fact that the Eskimos also came from Asia. Professor von Eickstedt, for instance, distinguishes between the hypothetical proto-eskimidian race (with its special territory to the north of

Lake Baikal) and the recent Eskimos with their special area to the north-west of Hudson Bay. According to that hypothesis, the proto-eskimidian race was originally of a European and not of a Mongolian type. Only on its way to the east it came into contact with some Mongol race by which it was mongolised for the first time. A second influx of Mongols into these Proto-Eskimos is supposed to have occurred later in connection with the invasion of the Asiatic culture of the Eschato-Eskimos into America.

Let us make some critical statements concerning this hypothesis. The Eskimos represent a "primitive," i.e., dolichocephalic group of Mongols. In contrast to them, the brachycephalic type among all human groups is to be considered as "progressive." Further, some definite relation between that biological progressiveness and the fact of dominant racial features in the mechanism of heredity must exist, by which dolichocephaly apparently becomes gradually recessive in mankind. Under those circumstances it is problematical how the Proto-Eskimos could preserve this "primitive" racial element in such a marked way if we have to consider them, as von Eickstedt does, as a mixture of both a dolichocephalic and a brachycephalic population.

Now, the forces which could drive the ancestors of the Eskimos to America may have been the same as those which made the ancestors of the American Indians of to-day find their way to the east. That way was formerly much more passable than nowadays, for we know that there was a firm bridge of land to America as far as the Aleutian Islands instead of the Behring Sea. Besides, even climatic conditions then were far more favourable than to-day on account of the warm Kuroshio current. At that time different kinds of Asiatic animals of the forest and the steppe migrated to America. Man, who then was only hunter, fisherman and collector of roots and berries, followed these animals, among which we find also the mammoth, into the new



"Indianoid" (American Indian-like) groups of the Yenisei and their American corollaries

Single shading: Former territory of the "Sibirid" race
 Double shading: Present territory of the "Sibirid" race
 1, American Indian-like racial groups on the Yenisei; 2, Territory of Tsimshian Indians; 3, Thompson River Indians; 4, Bilchula; 5, Ojibwa; 6, Shoshone; 7, Cheyenne; 8, Pawnee; 9, Omaha; 10, Pueblo Indians, Arizona; 11, Indian Territory; 12, Pino Indians, Texas.

continent. And the men who in those early days conquered a continent were, on the whole, more like the Europeans than the Mongols in their racial characteristics.

Such typical circumstances, however, are also to be found in all the ancient forms of man between Eastern Russia and the Chukchee peninsula. The groups around the Yenisei are no exception, but just here, in astonishing clarity, the types which modern anthropology regards as near relatives of the North

American Indians are still to be found. Such a conception also fits completely into the whole picture of the ancient American culture of hunters and fishermen. According to these facts, the existence of American Indians in Siberia does not mean that in those primitive ages the American Indians really colonised North Asia, but that, on the contrary, Eurasians of a type similar to that of the Yeniseians of to-day were the first to discover and colonise North America.

THE TEACHER

By HERBERT CHAMBERS

THE journey had been a long and arduous one. Wu, the teacher, was at last beginning to feel the full burden of his seventy years. Most of the way he had been compelled to travel on foot for he had no money to waste on bus or train fares, and barely enough to pay for his food and lodgings each night. More often than not he had slept in the open, under a sneering tree or hedge, but sometimes a friendly farmer had taken him in and given him a meal and a warm bed. On one occasion, in a little village in the province of Hunan, the local cobbler had mended his worn out sandals and refused to accept any payment. Indeed, everywhere among the poorer folk he had found much sympathy and kindness, and his heart had been warmed and his spirits uplifted—often when he had been most in need of it.

And now his journey was almost over; three provinces had been crossed and his destination lay but a few miles ahead. His old school! Almost a year had passed since he and his pupils had fled from the blazing building after three incendiary bombs had crashed through the roof, and there had been no time in which to save their precious books and records, for in addition to the fire, fighting had broken out in every nearby street. The horrors and chaos of civil war had struck the city almost without warning.

Yet it was not the first time that his beloved school had been destroyed; twice before, during the 1911 Revolution and again in the Japanese invasion of 1938, disaster had befallen it. But after each of these occasions he and his students had returned to rebuild and start again. This last time, however, the blow had been almost a mortal one and the old teacher had lost touch with many of his scholars. It might well have been that at his age he would have accepted defeat and gone into retirement, but such an idea never entered his head. Brought up and nurtured on the Confucian classics, the old man was filled with the zeal of his profession, a zeal that nothing could quench. Quietly and methodically he had planned his journey back; accepting the trials and hardships he knew must lie ahead with calm stoicism and a steadfast belief that if he could only get back to the sight of his old school, he could start afresh.

In appearance, Wu was not unlike his own first teacher of sixty years back. Tall and thin with a wisp of a beard and large horn-rimmed spectacles, he possessed a natural dignity and reserve. For many years he had clung to the traditional high desk, his tea pot for thirsty occasions, and his metal waterpipe. And although in the course of time these had been replaced by more modern equipment, his earnestness, his thirst for knowledge and culture and his

desire to impart it to his students had never faltered. His little pile of classical books was never far from his elbow and although he knew every word in them by heart, they were essentially a symbol of his calling.

A creaking ox cart piled high with vegetables and fruit carried him on the last stage of his journey into the city. Wu was grateful for the ride for his feet were cut and bleeding and his whole body heavy with fatigue. But he could not rest and dawn was not far off as he began his search amid the vaguely familiar surroundings. The town was greatly changed. Gutted and half derelict buildings; great piles of stone and rubble everywhere made many of the streets almost unrecognisable, and the old man's heart sank as he walked painfully over the rough cobbles, and for a while his courage and resolution nearly deserted him. Then he came to the place!

For a long time he stood gazing silently at the crumbling, blackened walls of the rootless building. It could hardly have been worse, and yet as he stood there he felt a sudden rekindling of hope. Walking slowly through the ruins, he sensed the old familiar atmosphere once again; seeing in his mind's eye the place where his desk had been, the neat rows of the students' lockers and the little room where he privately coached his most promising scholars. In time they would all be there again. How, he did not know, and he was too tired to think properly. But tomorrow he would make a start and begin to search for some of his old students; tomorrow he had much to do, but first he must sleep . . .

The clatter of hob-nailed boots on the cobblestones did not disturb him and he was unaware of the two shabbily dressed soldiers who, returning from a night's carouse, and loudly arguing, had almost stumbled over his motionless body lying in the shelter of the school wall.

"Look at this!" cried one. "A fine sight in the new China—a wretched beggar asleep in the street! We'll soon change all this and make these scum useful citizens!" He drew back his foot to kick the sleeping figure, but his companion restrained him and he turned away and spat scornfully into the gutter. "What's the matter?" he growled. "Is your stomach going soft—like a woman's?"

But the younger man did not answer. In that brief moment when he had looked down at the sleeper's face, his new and shining creed had been suddenly darkened by a shadow of vague uncertainty. It was as though, in that placid old countenance, he had looked upon the whole ageless, enduring face of China herself and he walked on in a deep and uneasy silence . . .

EASTERN WORLD, October, 1951.

31



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Economic Section

INSURANCE IN THE FAR EAST (I)

By L. DELGADO

INSURANCE in the East is faced with several special problems, all of which have their roots in the prevailing low standards of living. It must not be thought that the principle of insurance is an importation from the West. The contrary is the case. Long before the merchants of Europe banded themselves into groups for the purpose of meeting together losses of cargoes on the high seas or even before the Roman Collegia thought of providing a fitting burial for their members (involving the payment of monthly subscriptions), we find the Phoenicians and their sister nations developing the contract of bottomry. It might have been thought that with such a promising start, the other great branches of insurance—accident and life—could have been developed. That this has not been the case is all the more strange when we reflect that in the East the everyday business of life—and life itself—are insecure, thus rendering insurance more necessary than elsewhere. The explanation is to be found in the circumstance that the very acceptance of insecurity is itself the reflection of an attitude of mind which does not take easily to decisions to minimise the effects of such insecurity. It is not merely a question of law and order but of a poor standard of life rendering life insurance an uneconomic proposition because of the results of disease and malnutrition, while poverty encourages a dishonesty of mind so far as accident insurance is affected. The social structure of eastern society is not one, so far as the masses are concerned, that has developed organisations in which members are of mutual assistance to one another such as the mediaeval guilds of the West.

Division of labour and the resulting necessity for the exchange of goods developed much earlier in the East than in Europe. Babylonia was a trading nation in 4500 B.C. India did a considerable trade with foreign countries 2,000 years before the Christian era, while shortly before the birth of Christ the Phoenicians had a highly organised foreign trade.

By 4500 B.C. Babylonia had reached a high point of civilisation and her inhabitants were able to set in writing their thoughts and deeds. She was a rich country: water from the rivers was conveyed to fields and cities by artificial canals. Her sons were intelligent and virile. She had developed a system of law and order and had the strength, both moral and material, to enforce it. She was the junction of trading routes from Persia, India and China in the east to Phoenicia and Egypt in the west, from Armenia in the north to Arabia in the south. She was versed in the practice of banking, including the granting of advances against merchandise, and in the use of money, and at a very early age she was the clearing house for the financial transactions arising out of the trade of western Asia. The great trade of Babylonia arose on the one hand from an abundance of certain raw materials, mainly wheat, barley, rice, vegetables, and cattle, and on the other hand of a scarcity of others, chiefly stone for building,

minerals (mainly jewels), timber and grapes. Hence the jewellers of Babylonia were obliged to import all the stones for which they were famed over all the civilised world. The stone for building, the timber for furniture and housing, the wines for the banquets of the rich had all to be brought from abroad—often from long distances. The most important manufactures were bricks for building, tiles, pottery, woven goods of cotton and linen, carpets, rugs, garments and various cloths; glass, worked metals, jewellery; ointments (usually for female adornment) and leather work. These were not merely the products of small makers but of large and well-organised businesses. The manufacture of linen and woollens necessitated the importing of cotton from Arabia and Egypt; of wool from Arabia, Carmania, Tibet, and Kashmir (via Northern India). There was also a considerable trade with China. From India the Babylonians imported dyes, spices, ointments and perfumes, gold and silver, emeralds, rubies, lapis lazuli, onyx and jade. The chief exports consisted of clothing which was supplied to traders (for cash or on credit terms) and hawked over Asia and Egypt. Commerce with India particularly involved long caravan journeys, fraught with every kind of danger.

How far the overland trade of Babylonia was covered by insurance it is difficult to say. There are numerous references to a highly developed contract of bottomry, so that it seems logical to believe that land risks were covered also. It is known that the Phoenicians certainly covered the risks arising from both methods of transport, especially the loss by storm and piracy (for the Phoenicians were great sea traders), and from brigandage. Piracy and brigandage, it should be noted, were considered a more honourable means of earning a living than mere trading.

The Hindus were less advanced in trade and finance than the Babylonians or Phoenicians, but a contract of bottomry was current in India in the era 1300-1000 B.C. By the year 600 B.C. this had developed in a considerable degree to a form of contract that would not be strange to us to-day. In the Sanskrit code of law known as the Manava Dharma Sastra (before 600 B.C.), there is a reference to the contract of bottomry, which provided for both land and sea-borne trade. It had so far developed as to cover loss by accident, as distinct from loss by robbery. The interest, instead of being 100% in all cases, varied with place and time, i.e., according to the nature of the risk incurred and the time which the contract had to run. Moreover, the rates were calculated by men who were conversant with the dangers which would be encountered and with the length of time required for such a voyage, while the rate of interest thus calculated had now to be settled between the parties if the contract was to have legal force. Thus, the insurance contract was becoming more selective and more scientific. It should be remembered that it was not until the 16th century that the principle of marine insurance became known in the West.

Before we go further east, it is interesting to note that an early class of insurance was that for securing the ransom of persons who had occasion to travel in the Middle East and were taken prisoner. Pilgrims to the Holy Land were also accustomed to effect insurance for their personal safety or ransom.

The author expresses to Mr. O. W. Pendleton, Librarian of the Chartered Insurance Institute, London, his gratitude for generously placing at his disposal the unpublished Walford papers, and to his assistants for sorting out relevant material.

A fascinating field of research into the early history of insurance is provided by China. Insurance has been carried on in this vast country since remote times—how long is a mystery. An interesting point is that for a very long time, probably for thousands of years, the risks to growing crops by fire or destruction by civil commotions or by cattle have been covered. This is unusual in the East, even to-day, and yet it should be remembered that everywhere in this region agriculture is overwhelmingly the greatest industry. M. Skatchkoff, a Russian agriculturist of the last century and who was for a long time a resident of China, described the formation there of an association of farmers for the insurance of their crops. The Elders of the village assembled to discuss the preliminaries: they estimated the extent of the land and the quantity of crops to be covered, the probable rates of premium, and invited all who wished to participate to attend a meeting. All who wished to form part of the association were required to sign a list before the Elders, and those who did not appear were considered to be unwilling to share. Watchmen were then engaged to guard the crops, usually two men for every 300 acres in open country and more in hilly parts where the view was impeded.

These arrangements were for the duration of each crop. Fields were watched day and night, a reward being given for every thief or incendiary taken in the act or for cattle caught trespassing. Punishment for theft was severe: cattle trespassing were impounded. The author has been unable to discover how far back such a system of crop insurance has been in existence in China, but in a country of tradition where new ideas are slow to take on, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the principle has existed for perhaps thousands of years.

With regard to the financial side, it was considered sufficient in quiet times a century ago to have in hand, after payment had been made to the watchmen, a surplus equal to 10% of the sums collected as premiums. When disturbance was rife, the surplus aimed at was 20%.

In the event of a fire occurring in a field that was insured, the Elders were bound to make an enquiry. The delinquent was required to pay a fine equal to ten times the value of the crop

destroyed, and the owner was indemnified out of this sum. For all losses the insured received a payment estimated at one and a half times the loss, according to the probable scale of prices during the ensuing winter. All money remaining over out of premiums and fines was treated as a reserve fund and in part used for various public purposes, e.g. repair of schools, temples, etc. The funds were invested by way of advances to village land-owners at the rate, modest for the East, of 1% per month.

In China there had also for long been a system of insurance against law proceedings. This, illegal in the western world, was very necessary in the Celestial Empire, and had its root in the rapacity of the Chinese official (an evil known as "The Tiger's Cruelty"). Every village had its insurance association for this purpose. After having formed the association, the Elders entered into secret negotiations with the police inspector of the district as to the amount to be paid to him for non-intervention. The rate of hush-money varied from the equivalent of £1 to £3 in our money. Cases of sudden death (!), suicide, family disputes, and compositions between debtor and creditor were dealt with privately by the Elders without calling for the police. Membership of the association was not compulsory, but results for those not joining were said to be unpleasant.

The low standard of life throughout the East, with the consequent low expectation of life and the danger of death from disease or malnutrition or from the lack of law and order, explains the complete absence of life insurance in China or elsewhere in those parts, except in India in recent times.

In China there seems to be a curious alliance between the gods and the insurance associations. In the case of a fire, there is no order in the extinguishing operations. There is a general faith in the gods rather than in personal effort or in machines or water. When the fire is out, the god gets a good thrashing for his carelessness, and if the owner is insured he can always look to his association for making good mere material damage. This was universally true of native China in comparatively recent times, but this attitude of mind is passing slowly. Western traders in China had a deplorably poor opinion of Chinese gods, and relied on their own fire-suppressing apparatus. This applies with special force to merchants dealing in silks and tea.

Economic Publications

Investment in Empire by DANIEL THORNER (University of Pennsylvania Press, \$3.75)

The author, in describing the interest of British manufacturers and merchants in creating better and quicker communications between England and India, points out that "the campaign for steam shipping to India eventuated at the end of 1840, in an agreement of a regular service to be operated by the P. and O. (Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company), with the aid of annual subsidies from both the British Government and the East India Company." At the same time British commercial interests were aware of the necessity of building railways in India to secure an uninterrupted flow of raw materials from the interior of India and the supply of British goods to these areas.

As Dr. Thorner writes in his preface, many books have been written on the subject of construction of Indian railways, but "no systematic analysis has ever been made

of negotiations which produced the railway contract itself," and he remedies this dealing in detail with the protracted negotiations between railway promoters and the East India Company which led to the famous contract between the East Indian Railway, the Great Indian Peninsular Railway and the East India Company in August, 1849. This contract contained the all-important clause which guaranteed the interest to be paid to the railway companies. During the following two decades a number of similar contracts were signed, and the agency of the private railway companies (the capital of which had a State-guaranteed interest) was employed for building railways in India. It is noteworthy that during the first 10 years (1849 - 1859) contracts were signed with eight companies for the construction of 5,000 miles of line, and that this scheme actually laid the foundation of the railway system of the Indian peninsula as it exists to-day.

A. JAMES

Economic and Commercial Conditions in Pakistan*(Overseas Economic Surveys, H.M.S.O., 5s.)*

It is important to bear in mind that this survey was compiled in May, 1950, and one can only deplore such a time lag in publication. Yet, although much has happened in the interim (notably the Trade Agreement with India signed on February 25 this year) the volume is still very important as a source of information concerning the economic potential of the world's largest Moslem State.

As the survey points out, the resources upon which Pakistan can draw are not inconsiderable. True, there is a wide difference in character between the East Bengali and the Western Pakistani, but the two portions of the country are each more or less homogeneous in character and are bound by the common bond of Islam. Only a small industrial population exists, although there is a considerable pool of mechanical skill at the artisan level.

Concerning the relations between capital and labour (a subject of rapidly growing importance in the non-Communist areas of the Far East), the comment is that Pakistan can "rely upon the appeal to Islamic socialism to counter any tendency towards industrial agitation." That assertion, with profit all round, could have been enlarged upon. Assuming it to be essentially true it would be as well at the same time to recognise that much gain has come to Pakistan because of the world-wide high level of post-war prices; a level which was lifted sky-high when the Korean conflict broke out—a month after the dateline of the survey.

Partition left Pakistan with the most important share of two major cash crops of the sub-continent; she had 75 per cent. of the raw jute and a commanding proportion of

the long staple cotton. To counter this advantage, she had few jute baling presses and no jute mills, and for years the jute trade, both exporting and manufacturing, had been based on Calcutta. She had few cotton mills, the bulk of the cotton grown in Pakistan having in the past gone to India. Partition slowed down, and the uproar over devaluation completely stopped, the sale to India of Pakistan's wheat surplus which was previously, and normally consumed there.

Partition, moreover, cut across the major irrigation system of the sub-continent, leaving India many of the head works of canals of crucial value to the whole of the undivided Punjab, as well as the source of hydro-electric power on which the undivided Punjab also formerly drew.

India's leather industries depended to a considerable extent on Pakistan's raw materials and Pakistan, in turn, depended on India for supplies of coal, steel and mustard oil, a commodity of large consequence to the ordinary citizen. Partition raised barriers also to the passage of such goods as cotton seed from the Punjab and fruit, vegetables, poultry and fish from East Bengal. Partition made short work of the efficient running of communications. As the survey declares, "the repair shops for broad gauge wagons in the East were in what is now India, and, in East Pakistan, the frontier cut across the railway system which had been laid out to carry goods to the focal point of Calcutta, leaving East Bengal in some cases without through railway connection between different parts, except by passing through India."

Facts such as these have caused Partition to be judged a sad mistake which must, inevitably, be corrected by the lessons of experience if not by the exercise of force. Those who make such judgments give preponderant weight to economic matters. The truth is, however, that one must go beyond such a form of evaluation when the subject matter is Pakistan.

Pakistan is in the world to stay, and the reorientation of her economy which is now going forward will, if successfully accomplished, keep her from requiring artificial economic stimulants. "She has proved that she is well able to stand by herself," states the survey, adding later that "basically the economy is sound in that her production of goods for which there is a ready world market has been maintained."

The survey is divided into eight sections with a number of statistical appendices and a map. The general section is devoted to "Partition" and "The Constitution." Other sections range over "Trade and Industry," "Finance," "Development," "Agriculture and Food," "Industries, including Minerals and Power," "Communications," and "Social and other questions affecting Trade and Commerce."

Pertinent advice is given to British exporters (present and would-be) to Pakistan "There is a growing preference in Pakistan for direct trading, and although few Pakistani importers possess the experience to enable them to dispense with the services of the export merchant, they are seldom content to buy through merchants in the United Kingdom. . . . The establishment of local agents and representatives is therefore increasingly necessary for United Kingdom firms."

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World Economic Report, 1949-50 (*published by United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, 17s. 6d.*)

This Report is devoted to an analysis of major developments in domestic economic conditions and international economic relations during 1949 and the first part of 1950. It will remain a valuable reference book for students of economics, despite the fact that our rapidly changing times often makes topical books on political and economic questions obsolete between the time of writing and that of publication. The Report contains special chapters on Japan and China (the balanced description of the situation in China is very gratifying) and deals also with India, Pakistan and the Philippines in the chapter devoted to selected countries in the Far East. While no comprehensive national income statistics are available for the latter countries, the Report makes an attempt to give some general indications of the changes in their national economies during the period under review. In the part dealing with international trade, the Report lists among the most important features of the year 1949-50 the decline in the world import surplus with the U.S.A. and the expansion of trade among non-dollar countries.

The Report makes some interesting preliminary comments on tendencies since mid-1950 (outbreak of hostilities in Korea) which have been justified by subsequent events. The war in Korea and the large-scale rearmament programmes have led to an increased demand for and to high prices of certain raw materials produced by South-East Asian and Far East countries, thus strengthening the financial position of these countries. But the Report rightly warns that the impact of rearma-

ment threatens these underdeveloped countries with a shortage of manufactured goods imports, and adds that "in the absence of adequate imports, their highly liquid international financial position would add to domestic inflationary pressure. At the same time, their development programmes would risk being deferred for lack of essential imports." Since the publication of the Report the rearmament race has increased its tempo. E.C.A. report, which covers the first quarter of this year (released on August 2nd, 1951), states that the rate of arms production in Western Europe has more than doubled in the past two years, and is expected to double again this year. The Indian, Pakistan and other Governments of South-East Asia complain about difficulties in obtaining and delays in deliveries of capital goods from the West. It is to be hoped that the Western Governments will recognise not only the vital importance but also the great urgency of the problem of the under-developed countries and will take appropriate and timely measures. It cannot be emphasised often enough that the economic and political conditions in the under-developed countries will greatly influence—possibly even decide—the fate of the rest of the world.

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JAPANESE TEXTILE EXPORTS

By PETER HIBBERD

JAPAN'S textile industry, which was severely hit by the War has recently achieved a remarkable recovery, even though the total textile production amounts still to only about 50 per cent. of the 1932-36 level, while Japan's overall industrial production is already about 40 per cent. higher than the production during the same period. One must bear in mind, however, that the textile industry consists of several independent industries (silk, cotton, rayon, wool) the trends of which do not develop uniformly. Some of these industries experienced a sharp decline during the immediate pre-war period (1937-41), due in part to Government import restrictions on raw materials, while heavy industries expanded considerably during the same period.

The following table shows the recent development of Japan's textile production:

	1949	1950	April 1951	May 1951
<i>Indices of Manufacturing Production (1932-36=100):</i>				
Japan's total manufacturing production				
Textiles	74.2	95.1	135.5	141.5
Textiles	23.4	39.0	52.8	50.7
<i>Volume of Production (monthly average):</i>				
Raw silk (bales of 132 lbs.)	13,684	12,568	12,945	12,068
Cotton yarn (1,000 lbs.)	28,931	43,785	61,023	59,258
Woollen yarn (1,000 lbs.)	3,024	5,966	10,396	10,231
Spun silk yarn (1,000 lbs.)	587	415	413	385
Cotton fabric (1,000 sq. yds.)	82,072	128,499	179,092	188,154
Woollen fabric (1,000 sq. yds.)	2,845	6,543	9,595	8,223
Rayon fabric (1,000 sq. yds.)	15,891	50,542	70,282	64,339

(May figures are preliminary)

Increased textile production has led to the resumption of large-scale exports which received a further impetus from the outbreak of the war in Korea. During the second half of 1950 Japan's total textile imports reached a value of 234.3 million U.S. dollars, as against 165 million U.S. dollars during the first half of 1950. Thus the total value of the textile exports during 1950 reached nearly 400 million U.S. dollars or 48.6 per cent. of Japan's total exports in 1950, which amounted in value to 820.2 million U.S. dollars.¹ According to a report, recently issued by the Bank of Tokyo, Japanese textile exports rose from the monthly average of 7,990 million yen during the first five months of 1950 to 11,950 million yen during the period June-October, 1950, and further to 17,200 million yen during the period November, 1950, to March, 1951. The effect of a possible armistice in Korea on Japanese economy is now

¹ During the period 1930-34 textile exports amounted to 57.2 per cent. of Japan's total exports. During the post-war period the share of textile exports rose to 75.5 per cent. in 1947, but decreased to 61.6 per cent. in 1948.

being discussed in Japan. While on the one hand the country has benefited by over 300 million U.S. dollars of procurement orders for Korea, it is expected that after the end of hostilities large orders for the rehabilitation of Korea will be placed in Japan. In addition, it is pointed out that the war in Korea, which has led to a rise in price of manufactured goods, has adversely affected the agricultural population of the country (about half of the total population) as no corresponding rise has taken place in the price of agricultural products.²

Furthermore, Japanese traders hope that the end of hostilities in Korea will lead to a resumption of trade with Communist China, in which case Japan would be able to exchange cotton goods and machinery for Chinese coal, salt, rice, soya beans and oils.

Cotton goods have formed the largest part of Japan's total exports in the past. During the period 1930-34 the exports of cotton fabrics represented the highest single item in the list of the country's exports and amounted to 25.1 per cent. of the total exports, while the export of cotton yarn represented an additional 1.7 per cent. During this period the annual export of cotton fabrics amounted to an average of 2,483 million square yards (68 per cent. of the country's production of these goods) and the average annual export of cotton yarn amounted to over 4 million lbs. (4 per cent. of the total cotton yarn production).

During 1950 Japan exported about 1,065 million yards of cotton fabrics (worth about 200 million U.S. dollars) and 23 million lbs. of cotton yarn (worth approximately 16 million U.S. dollars). According to the latest reports issued by the Japanese Cotton Spinners' Association a considerable increase in exports of cotton goods took place during the first half of 1951, when 655 million square yards of cotton fabrics and 16 million lbs. of cotton yarn were exported as against 538 million square yards and 14 million lbs. during the corresponding period of 1950. Japanese authorities estimate that exports of cotton cloth may reach 1,250 million yards during 1951.

Indonesia, Pakistan, Siam, the United Kingdom and Iraq were the main importers of Japanese cotton cloth, while Pakistan was the biggest importer of cotton yarn, followed by Indonesia and Formosa.

It is not surprising that some Lancashire industrialists, well remembering the cut-throat competition of the Japanese cotton industry in pre-war years, view with grave concern the return of Japanese cotton textiles to the world market and the fact that the Peace Treaty contains no preventive provisions.

²The overall cost of living in May, 1951, shows an increase of 70 per cent compared with May, 1950.

On the other hand, the importance of the supply of cheap textiles to underdeveloped areas should not be underrated, particularly as these goods represent one of the most important inducements to higher agricultural production in those areas.

During the period 1930-34 Japan's exports of raw silk amounted to over 512,000 bales per annum, representing 10.9 per cent. of the total value of the country's exports. During the post-war period these exports fluctuated widely, amounting to 87,424 bales in 1946; 17,272 in 1947, and 82,023 in 1948. In 1950 Japan exported 94,600 bales of raw silk worth nearly 39 million U.S. dollars, including 47,269 bales to the U.S.A., 15,261 bales to France, 10,823 to the U.K., 10,100 to Switzerland, and 3,497 to India. During the first quarter of 1951 over 16,000 bales were exported, and it is hoped that for the year 1951 the exports will reach the 100,000 bale mark.

Japan's exports of silk fabrics amounted to nearly 59 million linear yards valued at over 21 million U.S. dollars during 1950. The bulk of these exports went to the U.S.A. (over 40 million linear yards) and to Canada 3.8 million linear yards. The May, 1951 returns show that during that month 4 million yards were exported, including 2.5 million yards to the U.S.A., 350,000 yards to Canada, 250,000 yards to Pakistan and 196,000 yards to France.

As the following table shows, the Japanese rayon and staple fibre industry considerably increased its production during 1950 as compared with the previous year, but was still far behind the 1937 and 1938 output.

	Staple fibre	Rayon filament	Rayon yarn	Spun rayon fabric	(millions of lbs.)	(millions sq. yds.)
					1937	1938
1937	...	175	336	81	263	1,034
1938	...	327	214	274	958	607
1949	...	60	67	40	71	120
1950	...	150	103	89	210	397

The 1950 exports of rayon fabrics amounted to 145 million yards worth 35.7 million U.S. dollars. During the first quarter of 1951 these exports achieved a post-war record, totalling nearly 68 million yards to the value of over 20 million U.S. dollars.

Japanese exports of wool yarn amounted to 762,000 lbs. during 1950, showing a sharp decline compared with the period 1934-38, when wool yarn exports averaged 7.5 million lbs. annually. The 1950 exports went mainly to South Korea, India and Sweden.

Exports of wool fabrics dropped from 5.6 million square yards in 1949 to 3 million square yards during 1950. The main market was South Africa which took nearly 50 per cent. These figures compare very unfavourably with pre-war years, when Japan exported about 40 million square yards per annum, delivering large quantities to Korea, China (including Manchuria) and India. As these markets are at present closed to the Japanese industry either for political (China) or economic (India) reasons, Japan will have to look to other markets if she wants to re-establish large-scale exports for this industry.

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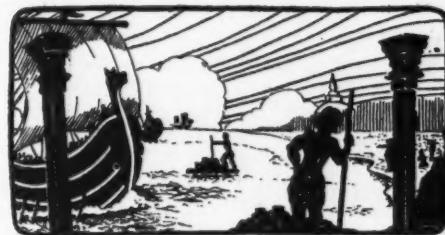
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The Japanese Fishing Industry

By JAMES E. CARVER

FROM ancient times the Japanese have been skilled fishermen, and it is not surprising that when they began to build up a formidable navy during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the fishing community, two million men, provided an ideal recruiting ground. In no other navy was so large a proportion of the personnel drawn from the coastal districts. They came from the littoral of the famous Inland Sea, whose shores swarm with fishing villages, and from the northernmost mainland island of Hokkaido (Yezo), which is one of the world's greatest fishing centres.

Before the war the Japanese fishing fleet numbered 400,000 boats of various types. Over 50,000 of these were motor-driven and equipped with the most modern devices. The industry was worth £30,000,000 a year. This immense total had been built up in about half a century, for after two thousand years of isolation the Japanese Government began diplomatic relations with other Powers and the building of ocean-going vessels was no longer forbidden. Immediately everything was done to assist the fishing industry. A marine products association was begun under the "exalted presidency" of an imperial prince. Fishery training schools were established and exhibitions of fishery and marine products were staged. Improved fishing gear and implements were introduced, the fishing fleets rapidly extended their area of operations, and subsidies were granted to fishermen to encourage the building of sea-going craft. The effect of these inducements was quickly evident. In 1893 the total value of Japanese marine products and fish captured did not exceed £1,250,000, but by 1925 it had risen to £18,000,000, and later to £30,000,000.

There are few seas which, in peace-time, did not see Japanese fishermen. Japanese fishing vessels visited Antarctic waters for whales, Siberia for salmon, India and Australia for tunny, and engaged in pearl fishing in almost all tropic waters. Some of these vessels covered 15,000 miles without touching port for 60 days, and in home waters women were often members of the crews. Some of the toughest members of the Japanese Navy were from the whaling fleets, whose crews became inured to the hardships and perils of sea life from an early age.

The Japanese Fishery Department used regularly to send out "specialists" to determine scientifically the depth, clarity, colour and temperature of the water in various given sea areas. Among these might be mentioned the coasts of Australia and the Netherlands Indies. When these facts were known, it could be predicted with accuracy what fish would be likely to be found there. Some 600 species of marine fish are known in Japanese waters, but the industry is by no means confined to the sea, for many rivers and lakes contain an abundance of carp, trout, eel and roach.

Perhaps the most unusual method of fishing used by the Japanese is that involving cormorants. The cormorant fishing season extends from June to October, and the birds are used on moonless nights. They sit on pieces of wood protruding from the bows of the boat or on the gunwales, and are attached by lines to the fisherman's hand. A flaming basket is hoisted aloft and the birds are dropped to the water. They are marvellously skilful, even in the roughest water, and quickly catch those fish which are attracted by the flare, swelling out their necks to make room for them. They are prevented from swallowing any but the tiniest fish by a small strap or ring fastened round their throats. When their pouches are full they are taken on board.

ECONOMIC NOTES

INDONESIA

Finance Minister on Economic Policy

According to the Minister of Finance, Indonesia's domestic financial situation is becoming more stable. The income from taxation and revenue has exceeded expectations and the short-term State debt has been reduced from 3,200 million to 2,100 million rupiah. The present policy is to restrict expenditure as much as possible, while increasing exports and cutting down non-essential imports. The 40 billion rupiah supplementary Budget has been reduced and the government is now trying to find new sources of income by industrial and agricultural taxation and revenue. The Minister also disclosed that the government had bought 1 million of the 10 million shares of the Java Bank. Of the 4½ million "Dutch rupiah certificates" in the Netherlands, 2½ million had been sold

at 120 per cent. The bill for the nationalisation of the Java Bank was to be submitted for ratification by the Cabinet in the near future. The bill governing the status of the bank after its nationalisation was still being prepared. At the same time, the Government was examining the organic law of the Indonesian State Bank, and this was expected to be completed shortly. The Minister said that the State Bank would merely extend credits to export and import enterprises; it had earlier been intended that it should be converted into a "circulation bank."

Indonesia-Japan Trade Pact Extended

The year-old Indonesia-Japan trade agreement, which expired on June 30, has been extended for an unspecified period by the notes recently exchanged between SCAP and the Indonesian Mission in Tokyo. The agreement, which provides for an annual export trade of \$44,400,000 for Japan, and of \$30 million for Indonesia, will thus remain in effect during the interim period until another new agreement will be made in future. During the ten months from July, 1950, through

to April, 1951, Japan's exports to Indonesia amounted to \$64,300,000, of which textile goods represented some 73 per cent., while her imports from the same country registered only \$26,990,000, of which crude rubber represented some 75 per cent. By way of settling Japan's excess exports, a cash payment of \$13,400,000, was made by Indonesia in May, and another payment of about \$10 million, is reported to have been made on August 15. Since Indonesia's economy is being steadily improved, a trade conference will be held in the near future between the representatives of the two countries, and it is expected that a new agreement on a larger scale will be the outcome.

Japanese Rubber Purchases to be Resumed.

According to a Tokyo report the Japanese Government is to commence purchases of Indonesian crude rubber as soon as possible. An assurance to this effect was given to the head of the Indonesian Mission, Dr. Sudjono, when he called on Japan's Ministers of International Trade and Industry.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

EDITORIAL NOTE: *In accordance with our policy of providing a forum for the discussion of all sides of important questions, we have pleasure in printing the above letter from the Portuguese Ambassador. The information on which our note was based came from an unusually reliable source.*

SIR.—On reading the article "Portugal's Secret War" in one of the recent issues of EASTERN WORLD, I could not but conclude that, although with unquestioned good faith, you have been deceived by its author, since the information given therein is totally inaccurate.

In fact, since the invading Japanese forces left Timor, in September 1945, up to the present moment, the Portuguese authorities have never been under any difficulties nor has any guerilla warfare been carried on. Contrary to what is reported in that article, no casualty due to military operations has since been registered.

The loyalty of the natives toward Portugal, both during and after the Japanese occupation, was always beyond praise. During the occupation many heroic deeds were performed by them and, among others, the "Regulo" D. Alleixo Corte-Real certainly deserves to be named; after resisting the Japanese to the limit of his resources he died gallantly in defence of Portuguese sovereignty, embracing the National Flag.

Since the day our authorities regained control of the territory, the allegiance to Portuguese sovereignty by all its inhabitants has been as strong as before. At

present, both the native and European populations live in perfect tranquillity and, aided by substantial subsidies voted by the Government, lend themselves to the hard task of reconstructing the devastating damages inflicted by the Japanese upon the plantations and buildings.

The garrison of Timor has not been strengthened nor would there be any motive for such a decision to be taken since complete tranquillity reigns within the territory, and relations between the Portuguese authorities and the neighbouring Republic of Indonesia are most friendly.

As a proof of the conditions now prevailing in Portuguese Timor I may perhaps state that, at the moment, a statue of Our Lady of Fatima, visiting the whole territory accompanied only by two priests and two ladies, is being received everywhere by the natives with the greatest respect.

I am sure it is your earnest wish to give your readers nothing but accurate information, and, consequently, I would be very grateful if publicity could be given to this letter in your Review.

Yours truly,
R. ENNES ULRICH,
Ambassador.

The Portuguese Embassy,
London, S.W.1.

PLANNING FOR SURVIVAL

By T. G. JAMES

AT a time when Colombo Plans and Fourth Points wrestle with xenophobia, organised terror, and blind revolt for the heart of the Eastern world, it is intensely pertinent to get a glimpse of that heart.

My own glimpse of it remains in my memory as an antidote to pessimism. It was at the School of Planning and Research for Regional Development, Gordon Square, London, where five Indian engineers had pieced together a large-scale contour map of the Ghats, inland from Bombay. On the room-sized map, they had combined their special local knowledge in a scheme for a co-ordinated water lift carrying the monsoon rains over the ridge to irrigate the whole eastern slope and plain of Central India.

It was far less of a daydream than the coloured tints of the map might have suggested. On the experience of a basically similar water-lift in the American West, they were able to estimate in considerable detail the costs, the locations, and the expected performance of the installations necessary for changing the whole run-off system of a sub-continent.

The natural spokesman for the five Indians was a senior Public Works Department engineer from Jodhpur, Dhirendra Nath Gupta, who has since returned to India to help face the nightmare of planning development for a population

Taking as his field of study the "logistics curve" of India's predictable population growth, he has made a calculated estimate of the prerequisites in food and employment needed to achieve any sort of social or political stability over the next thirty years.

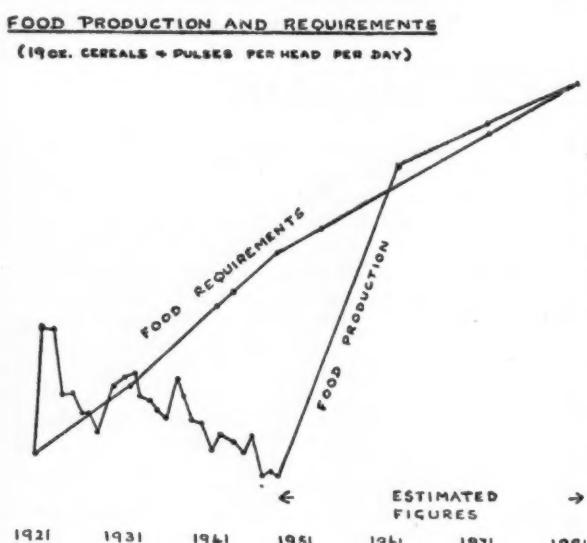
The key to Gupta's philosophy of "planning" is implicit in the two "life lines" projected on the accompanying graph. One line draws, as realistically as a conspectus of authorities can judge, India's population growth over the period 1950 to 1980. This rising slope represents to Gupta the "load factor" which the Indian economy must carry, with such help as the world can give. It is the basic premise on which all development planning rests.

The care with which this load factor slope is drawn can be appreciated in full perhaps only by an Indian. For it is based on an assumption which in itself constitutes a vital revolution in Indian thinking. In the briefest terms, the rising slope represents a predictable survival rate which masks beneath its surface a revolutionary fall in the Indian birth rate. Gupta has assumed that family limitation will be accepted by his fellow Indians as the only practical solution to the human waste inherent in a high birth rate accompanied by an almost equally high death rate. Gupta recognises that his assumed reduction in the Indian birth rate—having less children to keep more children alive—will offend against age-old sentiments to such a degree that no outsider could afford to propose it.

An alternative is mass emigration. Though the British commission of inquiry into the 1943 Bengal famine suggested safety-valve migration to such underpopulated and undeveloped Commonwealth areas as northern Australia (the Japanese were then knocking at India's eastern gates) Gupta sees no sign that present political stresses would allow India any scope for such releases from population pressure. Even a restatement of the Atlantic Charter's propaganda of freedom in terms which an overpopulated Asia would fight for in World War III seems too much to ask of 1950's Commonwealth, where India's 280 persons per square mile compare with Australia's 2.6. No longer acceptable as labour on the white man's plantations or as shopkeepers for the coloured man, the 370 million Indians must settle their own future, geographically static or otherwise.

Gupta has returned to India at a time when the gap between home food production and food requirements has grown to an annual equivalent of 5 million tons of grain increasing daily. Into this dark chasm all India's development hopes are tumbling, for the drain on sterling balances and dollar credits to pay for basic food imports is making impossible the purchase of development machinery needed to build properly for the future.

Gupta, as his graph indicates, allows no more than one decade at most for India to reach self-sufficiency in food. Like all such forecasts, his steeply rising slope of home food production is based partly on hope, yet Indians will be the first to see that Gupta's rising line of estimated production is drawn just as carefully as the logistics line of requirements. For what Gupta conveys in his graph is that by 1960—at the latest—the two lines must cross: either at the high point shown; or, if the production rise is not steep enough, at a point lower down on the graph which will represent simply a shattering of the requirements line—i.e. death from either famine or war on a scale not even India has known.



already far larger than can be adequately fed or employed, and increasing by six persons every minute. He has returned to an India whose strategic position in a continent convulsed by open war makes the possibility of peaceful development seem chimeric indeed.

But Gupta has left behind him in London a testament to Indian thinking which is of exceptional interest in a time when the world's democracies are making massive moral decisions.

Perhaps Gupta is too optimistic in hoping for even a decade of grace in which to join the lines at the point indicated. But unless he can be too optimistic, then none of us can. For what Gupta is expecting of his fellow Indians is that they should endure on a war-torn continent their five pounds per annum per capita income for another ten years of the hardest kind of earth-digging toil in the hope that food self-sufficiency and the nation's savings by 1960 will then allow a geometrically progressing rise in the general standard of life.

Gupta's two years of study in London have suggested to him both the promise and the limitations of Western technology. He found no simple or quick solutions applicable to India, though many encouraging trends. He echoes Nehru's down-to-earth view of mechanisation: "They should not depend only on tractors, but make full use of the ordinary plough."

Irrigation and manure remain for him the "two legs on which Indian agriculture can march to plenty." With an engineer's realisation that harnessing the monsoons could give India both water for irrigation and cheap power for the manufacture of fertilisers, he places most of his hope in large-scale water management schemes. Recognizing that the peasant is "entirely helpless under the vagaries of monsoons" and that "There is either flood or drought—and devastation both ways", he counts on river engineering to solve problems ranging all the way from control of soil erosion, to fuel and power for Ghandi's cottage industries. Multi-purpose management of the 94% of India's mean annual 2.3 million cusecs of monsoon runoff is, to him, *sine qua non* of all development planning.

As for erosion, he points out that the "Ganges carries eight times the silt carried by the Mississippi from a catchment area on one-third the size. There are some 5,000 square miles of

gullied land in the United Provinces and Punjab, and the former is estimated to lose 100 square miles annually."

And as for fuel, he warns that more than half of India's animal manure at present is burned by the poorer peasant for cooking and heating, this loss being in itself one of the biggest drains on natural fertility.

Internal Migration

Where Gupta's food prescriptions diverge most strongly, perhaps, from those a Western expert would propose is in his hopes for the protein element of a diet sufficient to energise India's vast man power to meet the development task. Basing his argument both on land poverty and religious sentiment, he eschews any widespread utilisation of India's cattle and buffalo for meat. Fish is the "universal food" he advocates for half the Indian people; and he proposes a nearly ten-fold increase in both the fresh-water and marine catch by 1980. The most serious handicap to such a target is the absence of trained personnel: "Fishing . . . has so far been regarded as a mean profession . . . carried on by ignorant, unorganised, and ill-equipped fishermen."

Though the 150,000 square miles of almost unexploited Continental shelf off India's 2,600-mile coast promises much for marine fishing, Gupta lays even more stress on the possibilities of fresh-water fishing and "fish farming" as an integral part of the some 180 multi-purpose river management schemes now in either the construction or planning stage.

Altogether, Gupta forecasts an increase in cultivated acreage to 325 million by 1981, worked far more intensively by forty-six and a half million families—about the same number as at present work 285 million acres. The bulk of the employable remainder of the increased population must find status and work in a Gandhian and electric-powered redevelopment of India's famed cottage handicraft economy, decentralised in the republic's 560,000 villages.

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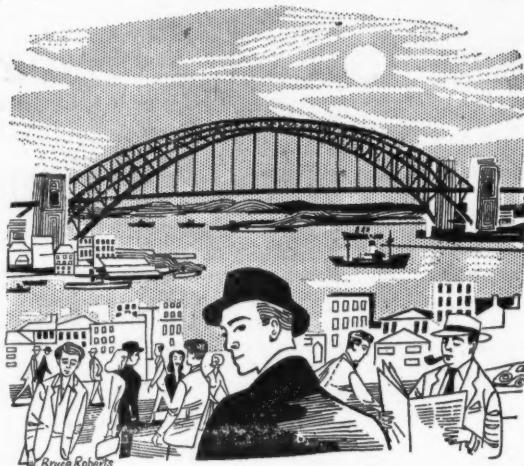
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CARBON

CARBON is one of the most widely distributed of the elements, for it is an essential constituent of all living matter. Carbon appears in the crystalline form as diamond and graphite and in the amorphous form as charcoal. Combined with other elements it gives innumerable chemicals all of which are vital to our existence. Carbon atoms readily join with each other, and with those of other elements. They will link up into rings, form long chains of atoms like strings of beads, and even branch out to make complex three-dimensional molecules. The study of carbon compounds is so important that it has become a specialized branch of science known as Organic Chemistry. Hundreds of thousands of

different molecules have already been made from carbon atoms in conjunction with those of two or three other elements, such as hydrogen, nitrogen and oxygen. An almost infinite number of new ones remain to be discovered by the organic chemist.

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